THE PREVALENCE AND SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:

AN ANALYSIS OF THEORY AND METHOD

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Domestic violence is recognised as an area that requires more detailed research, particularly on the general population. Indeed the lack of authoritative statistics on the extent of domestic violence is considered to restrict the development of preventative or remedial action to alleviate the problem. This thesis is concerned, therefore, with the development of a methodology in order to generate data on the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence, the relationship of this to current theory and the implications for policy.

The main research component involved a victimisation survey adapted to deal with the specific problems of researching domestic violence. It utilized sensitive interviewing techniques, carefully worded questionnaires, a self-complete questionnaire (the 'piggy-back' method) and vignettes detailing 'conflict' situations which could lead to violence. 571 women and 429 men were interviewed which makes it the largest survey on domestic violence to be conducted in Great Britain. A qualitative component was additionally incorporated into the methodology in order to fully explore the experience of domestic violence.

The primary focus of the research was on women's experiences of violence from husbands and boyfriends, including ex-partners, although additional information was collected on other forms of domestic and non-domestic violence against both men and women. The project investigated the extent of domestic violence; its variation by subgroup; the nature, context and impact of the violence; definitions; levels and patterns of reporting to the various agencies and satisfaction with the response; the relationship of domestic to stranger violence; the location of domestic violence and non-domestic violence and the gendered distribution of violence. The examination of so many areas could not have been achieved without the use of a multiplicity of methods.

This thesis, however, deals not only with the development of methodology and the subsequent findings arising from the research project. It also analyses four major criminological theories (classicism, including the new administrative criminology; positivism; feminism and left realism) in relation to domestic violence. It delineates the main principles of each theory, details how it attempts to explain, research and tackle domestic violence and identifies both strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, the empirical data generated by the research project enables the testing of hypotheses derived from the theoretical literature about the nature of violence, particularly with respect to its social and spatial patterning. On examination, the approaches of radical feminism and left realism are singled

out as having the greatest purchase on the phenomenon and a synthesis of these positions is demarcated: a feminist realism within criminology. Finally, both the research findings and theoretical discussion inform the policy recommendations. Both long-term and short-term initiatives are considered and an emphasis is placed on development of policy that is both multi-agency and woman-centred.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Domestic violence[1] has, since the 1970s, been increasingly recognised as a serious social problem. There is, of course, a great deal of historical evidence to show that it is not a new phenomenon; more that it is a problem that becomes publicly evident at times when there is a strong feminist movement (Freeman, 1979; Brokowski et al, 1983; Wilson, 1983). Thus, it was an issue in the first wave of feminism, as it is in the second (see Chapter Four). Today barely a week passes without there being a programme on television or the radio or an article written about the subject. Domestic violence has, in addition, become a priority issue for many local authorities and police divisions. In the Metropolitan Area of London there are, for example, sixty two specialist police run units (known as Domestic Violence Units), set up to tackle the problem[2].

Despite current concern, domestic violence has, however, been recognised as an area which needs more detailed research, particularly on the general population (Smith, 1989). The true

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[1] 'Domestic violence' refers here to violence against women from their husbands and boyfriends. Problems of definition are discussed throughout the thesis.

[2] Information obtained from New Scotland Yard, 14 July 1993.

extent of domestic violence is generally agreed to be an unknown quantity (Ibid). Many commentators consider it to have one of the highest dark figures of any crime (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Hanmer and Stanko, 1985; Worrall and Pease, 1986). Figures derived from agencies such as the police[3] and women's refuges are necessarily selective and encompass only a small proportion of victims. It is well documented that police figures suffer from the problem of the 'dark figure of crime' - that is the non-reporting of crime to the police by the public and the failure of the police to record crime that is reported. The problem of the dark figure of crime has been recognised throughout the history of social statistics. Indeed it was first delineated in the 1830s by Adolphe Quetelet, a Belgian mathematician, astronomer and developer of social statistics. Agency figures, therefore, represent merely the 'tip of the iceberg' and in some cases, for instance, those derived from women's refuges, point more to the limited availability of such resources rather than the overall extent of the problem. Both the reasons for the lack of reporting and its variation by subgroup are unknown.

Victimisation surveys, which typically involve asking a sample of the population about crimes which have been committed against them in the previous year, have, both on a national level (e.g. Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Chambers and Tombs, 1984; Hough and

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[3] This refers to figures obtained from individual police divisions. The officially recorded police statistics, published by the Home Office in Criminal Statistics, do not include domestic violence as a category of offence. Information is only provided on domestic homicide -the extreme end of domestic violence.

Mayhew, 1985; Mayhew et al, 1989; Kinsey and Anderson, 1992; Mayhew et al, 1993) and a local level (e.g. Kinsey, 1985; Jones et al, 1986; Lea et al, 1986; Lea et al, 1988; Painter et al, 1989; Painter et al, 1990a; Painter et al, 1990b; Crawford et al, 1990; Jones et al, 1990; Mooney, 1992), made a considerable contribution to the knowledge of the dark figure of many crimes, the social and geographical patterning of problems, the potential levels of demand and the degree of satisfaction with the relevant agencies. And although they have their own dark figure of non-response, this is greatly reduced when compared to police statistics (Young, 1988a). However, in the area of domestic violence, they are seen to have severe limitations. The researchers themselves frequently recognise the figures to be under-representative and there are doubts as to whether mass surveys covering the whole gamut of crime have the sensitivity to pick up on all but a fraction of the actual incidence of domestic violence. Levels of non-reporting are thought to be considerable for various reasons: fear of reprisals (the perpetrator may be near to the interview situation), embarrassment, psychological blocking and so on (Walklate, 1989). Domestic violence is often unknown to anyone outside the immediate family and it is unlikely, therefore, that a victim will choose to reveal her experiences to an uninterested interviewer, a stranger, standing on the doorstep with a clipboard. Incidence figures uncovered by such surveys are three per cent in the Merseyside Crime Survey (Kinsey, 1985), eight per cent in the Second Islington Crime Survey (Crawford et al, 1990),

four per cent in the 1988 British Crime Survey (Mayhew et al, 1989).

Surveys conducted by feminists, in contrast, have pointed to much higher figures (e.g. Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Hall, 1985; McGibbon et al, 1989). Feminist researchers have generally been aware of the profound methodological inadequacies of conventional surveys (e.g. in areas of definition of what actually constitutes domestic violence) and have employed more sensitive research strategies (e.g. with respect to interviewing techniques and the use of self-complete questionnaires[1]). Their work, however, has been restricted by a lack of funding and has come under criticism for the use of too small or biased sampling methods which prevent the results from being generalized to the population as a whole (MacLean, 1985, Jones et al, 1986).

It has been suggested that the on-going lack of authoritative statistics on domestic violence ultimately serves to limit the ability to take preventative or remedial action to alleviate the problem (London Strategic Policy Unit, 1986; Smith, 1989). This thesis is concerned, therefore, with creating a methodology which can generate data as to the extent of domestic violence. But it must be stressed that it does not focus on methodology alone, it also seeks to test theory with regards to the causation and hence distribution of domestic violence in the population. There is,

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[1] Self-complete questionnaires were used in Manchester's Crime Survey of Women for Women (Bains, 1987) and McGibbon et al's (1989) survey of domestic violence for Hammersmith and Fulham Council.

for example, considerable debate over hypotheses generated with respect to its class based nature (e.g. Gelles and Cornell, 1985; Schwartz, 1988; Young, 1986; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991) or its uniform distribution throughout the population (e.g. Russell, 1982) which need thorough examination. Finally, both methodology and theory allow the development of a socially based policy and an evaluation of what agencies are involved in tackling domestic violence and the limits of their effectiveness.

1.2 THE RESEARCH PROJECT

As implied above, the research project was formulated in response to the need for better information on domestic violence in the general population. As the survey is the only method of gaining mass data that is considerably better than police or other agency statistics, a variation of the victimisation survey was used, adapted to try to deal with the specific problems involved in researching such a sensitive area. Trained, sympathetic interviewers and carefully worded questionnaires were employed together with the incorporation of various methodological innovations, for example, supplementary self-report questionnaires (the 'piggy back' method), in-depth interviews and vignettes detailing 'conflict' situations which could lead to violence. The method is discussed in more depth in Chapter Six. The survey was random with a final sample size of 1,000 individuals. Whilst this is considerably greater than that needed for statistical significance, such a sample size is

necessary to facilitate the crosstabulation of the data by age, class and ethnicity. The main focus was on women's experiences of violence from husbands and boyfriends although information was also collected on other forms of domestic violence and non-domestic violence. The intention of the survey was to investigate the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence; its variation by subgroups of the population; the nature, context and impact of the violence; levels and patterns of reporting to various agencies and satisfaction with the help received; attitudes to domestic violence; the relationship of domestic violence to stranger violence and the location of violence in terms of public and private space.

The survey was locally-based, conducted in the Finsbury Park area of the North London Borough of Islington. Lorna Smith (1989) in her overview of the research on domestic violence, advocated the employment of local surveys as these are less costly than national surveys and are as capable of generating detailed information. In the London Borough of Islington local surveys of crime have previously been conducted for the Borough as a whole (Jones et al, 1986; Crawford et al, 1990) on the Hilldrop Estate (Lea et al, 1988; Jones et al, 1991), in Highbury Neighbourhood (Woodhouse and Yaylali, 1990), in Mildmay Neighbourhood (Jones et al, 1990), and on the Miranda Estate (Mooney, 1993); thus comparable data is readily available. The area surveyed is mixed both in terms of ethnicity and class[5].

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[5] See Appendix II for social characteristics of the survey area.

The Subsidiary Study on Policing

As the police are one of the lead agencies in dealing with domestic violence and have in recent years undergone considerable policy changes in this area, a subsidiary study was conducted on the police in Holloway, West Hendon and Tottenham Police Divisions. Holloway Police Division serves the area covered by the survey. The intention of this research was to investigate the police response to domestic violence through interviews with police officers of all ranks and examination of police records; this study, in addition, generated further in-depth interviews with women who had experienced domestic violence.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis falls into four sections. The first section (Chapters Two to Five) takes the major criminological theories, systematically discusses their main tenets and details how each attempts to explain, research and tackle domestic violence. The theoretical limitations and insights of each tradition are explored. On examination the work of radical feminists and left realists are singled out as having the greatest purchase on the phenomenon and a synthesis of these approaches feminist realism is demarcated. In the second section, (Chapters Six to Nine) the empirical study of the prevalence of domestic violence is detailed, informed as it is by the methodological approaches of radical feminism and realism. The predictive capacity of each

theoretical tradition is tested in the third section (Chapter Ten), where the parameters of domestic violence and non-domestic violence are documented with an emphasis on the spatial distribution of violence. In the concluding section, Chapter Eleven, the theoretical, methodological and policy implications of the empirical findings and the theoretical discussion are spelt out.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The Importance of Theory

> Theoretical perspectives provide us with an image of what something is and how we might best act toward it. They name something this type of thing and not that. They provide us with the sense of being in a world of relatively fixed forms and content. Theoretical perspectives transform a mass of raw sensory data into understanding, explanations, and recipes for appropriate action. (Pfohl, 1985: 9-10).

2.1 POPULAR THEORIES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

As various commentators (Young, 1981; Lily et al, 1989) have pointed out, crime has always and inevitably, been the subject of popular theories with regards to its causation. Thus Lily et al, referring to the American public, write:

> Most Americans have little difficulty in identifying the circumstances they believe cause people to engage in wayward conduct. When surveyors ask citizens about the causes of crime, only a small percentage of the respondents say they 'have no opinion.' The remainder of those polled usually remark that crime is caused by factors such as unemployment, bad family life, or lenient courts. (Ibid: 9).

Domestic violence is no exception to this. When women were asked, in the pilot studies and in the main survey which forms the research base to this thesis, what they thought caused men to use violence against their wives or girlfriends, very few said

they 'didn't know'. Below are some of the explanations that were put forward. As it can be seen, they range from a focus on individual factors (e.g. alcohol, mental instability, emotional insecurity) to the wider culture (e.g. representations of women in the mass media, pornography) and social structure of society (e.g. unequal power relations between men and women, social pressures such an unemployment).

Individual Factors

> 'They could have been exposed to the very same behaviour when they were a child and their subconscious mind is therefore conditioned into reacting with violence when faced with problems etc. Some men become violent when intoxicated with alcohol or drugs.' (reported no personal experience of domestic violence, pilot study.)

> 'Mentally unstable. They have to take it out on someone and as women are the weaker, they are the easy target.' (experienced various forms of domestic violence, pilot study).

> 'Because women provoke men.' (reported no personal experience of violence, main survey).

> 'And jealousy through insecurity stops men from behaving rationally and reasonably.' (reported no personal experience of domestic violence, main survey).

> 'They find it difficult to express anger through words, lack of communication skills.' (experienced various forms of domestic violence, main survey).

Cultural and Social Structural Factors

'Because society, tv, popular press, adverts, porno mags etc present a picture of women as subordinate objects for men's pleasure. I think it is extremely difficult for women to assert - themselves within a male/female relationship.' (reported no personal experience of violence, main survey.

'Because they feel this is 'macho' conduct and it is how men should behave. The stresses of poverty, unemployment.' (reported no personal experience of violence, main survey).

'Some men are conditioned into thinking that violence is acceptable within a domestic environment. The woman should obey his demands and when she doesn't is punished. In this society men and boys are taught that violence equals strength. Men go to war and kill people and are then given medals and hailed as heroes for their bravery. Therefore why should this not apply on a smaller scale.' (experienced various forms of domestic violence, main survey).

'I think that perhaps men who use physical violence in this way do so in order to gain a feeling a power, or superiority over their partner. Perhaps they do this because they are downtrodden in other aspects of their lives (eg employment) and need to feel 'respected' as they see it by someone; and inflicting violence is the only way they see they can achieve any level of superiority in their eyes over anyone.' (reported no personal experience of domestic violence, main survey).

'To give them a feeling of power and control over the women. Men feel by threatening the woman, she will remain under their influence.' (experienced threats, main survey).

'Because society allows them to get away with it - poor sentencing etc.' (reported no personal experience of domestic violence, main survey).

2.2 CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY

Jock Young in 'Thinking Seriously About Crime' has, however, pointed out that there are important differences between 'popular theories' of crime - such as those presented on domestic violence above - and criminology, in particular, the latter:

> a) attempts to ground itself in an empirical knowledge of the patterns, incidences and variations in criminal behaviour, drawing on more systematic information;
>
> b) attempts to build on a theoretical position systematically,so that the different parts of the theory fit coherently, ironing out inconsistencies and contradictions of position;
>
> c) attempts to be as comprehensive as it can - dealing with the different aspects and drawing these into a systematic account. (1981: 248).

Furthermore, popular theories have the tendency to be contradictory, for example, with respect to the factors involved in causation and between these and the policy implications that are drawn. The theoretical section of this thesis (Chapters Two to Five) will examine the theories of classicism and new administrative criminology; positivism, including the 'family violence' approach and evolutionary theory; feminism and left realism in relation to domestic violence. It will systematically examine a series of questions which an adequate theory of domestic violence should be able to answer. These are as follows:

1. **Definition:** What is domestic violence and how should it be defined?

2. **Extent and Distribution:** How frequent is the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence and how is it distributed within the social structure (i.e. by age, class and ethnicity)?

3. **Causes:** What are the causes of domestic violence?

4. **Impact:** What is the impact on women of domestic violence and how does this vary with the social structure?

5. **Methods:** How should one best investigate the extent and distribution of domestic violence and elaborate its causes?

6. **Policy:** What policies, involving which agencies, would be most efficacious in tackling the problem and what would be a satisfactory outcome?

These questions will be asked of each of the paradigms under consideration. It should be noted that the answers to each question should display a consistency within the particular theory whilst being aware that omissions and contradictions are as important as commissions and coherence. The discussion of each specific theory will begin with a historical overview and a description of its particular conception of human nature and social order for this will predicate its approach to the above the questions.[1]

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[1] This framework is derived from that utilized by Young (1981, 1994) in order to analyse traditional and contemporary paradigms of criminological theory. Alison Jaggar (1983) takes a similar approach in relation to feminist political theory. However, as Young points out, this method does result in the creation of 'ideal' types - we must be aware that there are theorists who lack consistency and, 'others whose writings are in between the theories so described' (1981: 305).

2.3 CLASSICISM AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE CRIMINOLOGY

Classicist theories of crime - or 'administrative criminology' Vold and Bernard, 1986: 25) - first emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century out of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, which forms the basis of modern liberal democracy. The impact of these theories was such that, as Young has put it, 'within a hundred years, most of the legal and penal systems of administration in Europe had been thoroughly remodelled in the light of classicist principles' (1981: 253). In more recent times a modified version of classicist ideas, the new administrative criminology, has surfaced in Britain in the work of Home Office researchers which has had a considerable influence on official crime prevention policy (Clarke, 1980; Clarke and Cornish, 1983).

Classicism

The philosophy of the Enlightenment reflects the political and social overthrow of the ancien regime of feudalism and absolute monarchs who maintained the divine right to intervene in all aspects of life, that is in all political, financial and personal affairs[1]. Its impetus was the reaction of the emerging capitalist class to the constraints of feudalism, for example, with respect to property, finance, manufacture, travel and so on,

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[1] Representing the overturning of paternal rule - 'patriarchy' in its original sense.

which were seen as severely limiting the development of trade and industry. The ancien regime was superseded by a politics based on a radical re-conceptualization of the nature of the individual and the formation of society which found its most concrete expression in the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of Man and Citizen. Central to this were the notions of freedom, equality and the social contract.

In Enlightenment thought the individual was presented as rational and governed by free will. All 'men' were considered to be formally equal in that all were endowed with these attributes. Human behaviour was seen as purposive and founded on hedonism: the individual rationally calculated the drawbacks and rewards of 'his' actions, thus avoiding that which gave pain and seeking that which resulted in pleasure. Individuals were described as originally living in the 'natural state' where they were governed by what John Locke called 'the law of nature' in which 'no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions' (quoted in Popkin et al, 1981: 68). However as transgressions of this law occurred, 'men' were described as giving up some of their natural freedom to 'contract' together to protect their rights and thus prevent the 'natural state' degenerating into war and chaos. The basis of society is, therefore, the social contract, that is the 'contracting' together of free and equal individuals to form a state for their individual and mutual benefit. Phillips has commented that, for most liberals the state is a 'necessary evil' existing because, 'individuals cannot be trusted to regulate themselves, and the

state must therefore play a referee role' (1987: 13). As the creation of the state involved placing restrictions on individual freedom, it was deemed that its power should be contained by carefully delineating the boundaries in which it could operate; in particular distinctions were made between the public and private spheres of life. Regulation was to be permitted in the public sphere but not the private. The private sphere was seen as including the family, it represented the personal side of life. Other areas immune from state control included freedom of speech, to worship and the right to own private property.

Classicist principles have, as previously indicated, a considerable influence on legal and criminological thinking. The notion of contract forms the basis of modern civil law: individuals are seen as replicating the original social contract when they, for example, enter into employment, property and marriage contracts. Cesare Bonesana Marchese de Beccaria (1738-1794), an Italian mathematician and economist, is generally presented as the 'leader of the classical school of criminology', credited with having 'pulled together many of the most powerful eighteenth century ideas of democratic liberalism and connected them to issues of criminal justice' (Lily et al, 1989: 22-23). Classicist scholars began from the position that just as the individual was governed by reason then so should the criminal justice system. Individuals were seen as 'free' to act in whatever way they wished in so far as they did not interfere with the freedom of others. If transgressions occurred then punishment should be proportional to the social harm inflicted,

'punishment to fit the crime', not to the social, psychological or physical characteristics of the offender. Further, as classicist thought presents all individuals as formally equal, they are therefore considered to merit equal treatment before the law. To ensure that this occurs and that the law was not open to interpretation, crimes and punishment were to be defined in advance in a fixed legal code. Punishment was to be swift and inevitable. For it was deemed important, as Young has pointed out, that the criminal justice system's, 'operations should be certain and predictable, so that men could calculate the 'benefits' and 'costs' of wrong-doing as they did the profit and loss of a financial transaction' (1981: 254). In support of its notion of legal equality, it was, in addition, argued that crimes should be judged by a jury of one's peers, that is by other rational and equal individuals.

The New Administrative Criminology

The new administrative criminology developed around the work of researchers associated with the Home Office's Research and Planning Unit under the directorship of Ron Clarke. This theoretical approach has been described as the, 're-emergence of neo-classicist theory on a grand scale' (Young, 1986: 11)[3]. It developed in part as a reaction to the perceived failure of social democratic positivism which had argued that the major

[3] In the United States the work of Wilson (1975), Van den Haag (1975) and Ehrlich (1975) can also be seen as falling into this category (see Roshier, 1989).

cause of crime was poor social conditions. Social democratic positivism had been the main theory of post-war establishment criminology. However, as Young has pointed out in this period:

> Slums were demolished, education standards increased, full employment advanced and welfare spending increased: the highest affluence in the history of humanity achieved, yet crime increased. In Britain, for example, in the years 1951 to 1971, the real disposable income per person in the UK increased by 64%, whilst the number of crimes known to the police rose to double that: 172%. (Young, 1988b: 138).

The classicist roots of new administrative criminology are indicated in its disinclination to explain crime in terms of causes - such as those presented by individual and social positivists (see Chapter Three) - and its critique of what Ron Clarke (1980: 137) calls the 'dispositional bias' of much criminological theory. Instead it views crime as the product of wilful, rational action. The criminal is presented as having rationally weighed-up the costs and benefits of the criminal act; indeed this school of thought has frequently been referred to as 'rational choice theory' (see Clarke and Cornish, 1983). People, therefore, are seen as liable to commit crime when there is little to prevent them from doing so. Crime is viewed as opportunistic, in that it mainly occurs when situations arise which present possibilities for criminal advantage. Yet the traditional classicist emphasis on the use of the criminal justice system as a deterrence is considered palpably ineffective. Prisons merely encourage recidivism whilst policing has little proven record of effectively apprehending offenders (Clarke, 1980). Thus, the emphasis in the new administrative

criminology, has been on restricting the opportunities for crime, rather than looking at the motivations of the criminal and by building-up new social control mechanisms; this has involved target-hardening and increasing levels of surveillance. With this in mind, various situational crime prevention measures have been proposed: better locks and bolts on houses, improving environmental and architectural design, creating defensible space, Neighbourhood Watch and so on. This strategy has been very influential and, as Downes and Rock have commented, is in accord with their perception, 'of criminals as reasoning people implicated in chains of decision' for 'rational criminals confronting critical choices are fairly readily susceptible to intelligent control strategies' (1988: 229). In addition, this approach has stressed that it is the responsibility of each individual citizen to prevent crime:

> Promoting responsibility for crime prevention is a key issue. Responsibility does not mean criminal culpability, but rather invokes the notion of a general duty on the part of the citizen to take steps to prevent crime. Individuals and organisations may contribute to the growth of crime either by unwittingly creating opportunities or by falling (for a variety of reasons) to take reasonable actions to limit them. (Hope, 1985: 6).

Finally, in line with classicist thought, the focus of new administrative criminology has been on the public sphere and the protection of private property. What occurs in the private sphere has tended to be overlooked by the new administrative criminologists.

HUMAN NATURE

In classicist thought human nature is perceived as rational and governed by free will. Therefore, from this perspective, a man who is domestically violent will generally be seen, not as someone who is mentally ill or experiencing social pressures such as unemployment, but as a rational individual. The violent act, its timing and intentions, is considered as having been planned and voluntaristic rather than the result of psychological or social determinants. Indeed contemporary manifestations of classicism, such as that of the new administrative criminology, although not denying pathological and social explanations in extreme situations, consider such determinacy to be greatly exaggerated and, moreover, largely impossible to tackle (Clarke, 1980).

SOCIAL ORDER

Social order is based on the social contract. Free and rational individuals 'contract' together to create a state to protect their rights. Society is divided into public and private spheres. The private sphere is usually taken to mean the family. Marriage or the formation of live-in relationships are seen as contractual, a replication of the original social contract. Men and women freely choose to live together, to form the heterosexual nuclear family. Government or state interference, including the rule of law, is to be kept at a minimal level in the private sphere so as not to interfere with the rights of the

individual. Stinchcombe has commented that the legal distinction made between the private and the public spheres in the modern liberal state is, 'the main source of the capacity of small social systems (e.g. the family) to maintain their boundaries and determine their own interaction without interference from the outside' (1964: 151) and further that, 'a primary function of the criminal law is the limitation of coercion within small social systems' (Ibid: 153). Formal legal intervention is seen as risking, 'undermining...the stability of the family, the weakening of family bonds, the atomising of individual family members, and the destruction of the family as a political bulwark against excess of state power' (O'Donovan, 1985: 14-15). Any disputes within the private sphere should, therefore, preferably be resolved by using non-legal methods, for example, through marriage guidance counselling. The division of society into public and private spheres is clearly a problem for classicism in developing a theory of domestic violence as it is in the private sphere that this form of interpersonal violence is located.

DEFINITION

Crime is defined as that which is against the law. Those behaviours which are deemed to violate the social contract are set down in advance in a fixed legal code. In traditional classicist thought if the act is not prosecutable in court then it is not a crime. Theoretically the criminal law covering domestic violence is the same as that covering violence by

strangers and is largely contained in the Offences Against the Person Act 1861. Lorna Smith (1989) has commented that whilst this Act deals with all forms of assault from common assault to murder, the four sections most commonly applicable to domestic violence are: common assault (s.42), assault occasioning actual bodily harm (s.47), malicious wounding (s.20) and grievous bodily harm (s.18). The new administrative criminologists in the British Crime Surveys (see Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Hough and Mayhew, 1985; Mayhew et al, 1989, Mayhew et al, 1993) also apply legal definitions in the classifying and counting of crimes. In the report of the 1992 survey Mayhew et al indicate, 'that they do not simply accept respondents' definitions of what is crime' but use what they term a 'nominal' definition of crime: 'a count of incidents which according to the letter of the law could be punished, regardless perhaps of the value of doing so, and regardless always of whether a layman would really see the incident as 'crime' as such' (1993: 4). Thus behaviours such as mental cruelty[4] which fall outside of the legal categories would not be seen by traditional classicists or the new administrative criminologists as 'crime'. Domestically violent acts are those that the law designates as being violent.

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[4] Mental cruelty is defined in the quantitative phase of the research project - in Stage 2 - as those behaviours which include verbal abuse (e.g. calling of names, being ridiculed especially in front of other people), being deprived of money, clothes, sleep, prevented from going out etc.

EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION

For classicism the crime rate in a nation, governed by the rule of law, is a problem but involves only a minority of people either as offenders or victims. It is not an endemic problem extensively affecting and involving the majority of the population. The social contract, after all, is formed precisely because of this: to minimize the war of all against all. On this premise alone the prevalence of domestic violence would be reckoned to be limited not widespread. But there is a further and important reason why domestic violence would be viewed as a minority phenomena. For classicists, marriage, and the forming of close personal relationships, is a replication of the original social contract and, moreover, the union between husband and wife, like that between parents and children, is seen to represent a fairly unquestioned unity of interest. When crime does occur it is more likely to be from strangers; those individuals with whom no personal contract has been formed.

As crime is defined as that which breaks the legal code, classicists would traditionally look to the official criminal statistics to determine the extent and distribution of crime. Indeed some would argue that official statistics are the only 'true' crime rate as they are the only statistics to represent cases which actually have been prosecuted by the courts and adjudicated as crimes. (See Tappan, 1947). Such a position has two well known problems. It too readily accepts that legal categorisation reflects the social reality of crime and it

ignores the 'hidden figure' of crime unknown to the police and the courts. I will explore the problem of legal categorisation later in this chapter but let us note in passing that the official statistics provide us with little information with regards to domestic violence. They only tell us the number of violent offences overall, not the number that were 'domestic', as 'domestic violence' does not exist as a separate category. Information is only available on domestic homicides.

The new administrative criminologists are well aware that not all crime that breaks the legal code is reported to or recorded by the police and will, therefore, not appear in the official statistics. Because of this they have used national crime surveys to investigate the extent and distribution of crime (Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Chambers and Tombs, 1984; Hough and Mayhew, 1985; Mayhew et al, 1989, Kinsey and Anderson, 1992; Mayhew et al, 1993). From their results they argue that: 1) the crime rate is generally low; 2) violent offences are low in comparison to crimes against property; 3) that violence is more commonly against men than women and, 4) violence is more likely to occur in public space[5]. Indeed the authors of the report of the 1982 British Crime Survey commented:

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[5] They do, however, note that in a significant number of cases victims and offenders will be known to each other (see Gottfredson, 1984)

> That a 'statistically average' person age 16 or over can expect:
>
> - a robbery once every five centuries (not attempts)
> - an assault resulting in injury (even if slight) once every century
> - the family car to be stolen by joyriders once every 60 years
> - a burglary in the home once every 40 years.
>
> ... and a very low rate for rape and other sexual offences. (Hough and Mayhew, 1983: 15, 21)

And more recent survey work has seemingly corroborated this; thus the 1992 British Crime Survey indicated that the risk of violence was greater for men than for women (1.83 : 1), that public violence was much more common than private violence (2.44 : 1), that despite women being more likely to have violence committed against them in the private sphere this was not dramatically so (1.32 : 1), and that, although women had a higher rate of domestic violence than men, their overall risk of domestic violence was low (just under 1% and this includes all household members as offenders not merely partners or ex-partners). The findings are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1: Risk of Violence from the 1992 British Crime Survey (Incidence Rates per 10,000)

	Private	Public	All
Men	113	702	815
Women	254	192	446
All	367	894	1261

TABLE 2: Ratios of Violence from the 1992 British Crime Survey

	Ratio of Incidents
Men	1.83
Women	1
Public	2.44
Private	1

(Source: Derived from Table A6.3 in The 1992 British Crime Survey, Mayhew et al, 1993).

New administrative criminologists explain much of the rise in the official crime statistics as the result of an increase in the reporting of pettier offences to the police, greater efficiency in police recording of crime and more opportunities to commit crime (Clarke, 1984; Mayhew and Hough, 1988). Mayhew et al (1993), suggest, with respect to violent crimes, that the police are upgrading common assault to wounding and giving a higher priority to certain types of violent crime, for example, domestic violence. Further, the rise in the reporting of rape and domestic violence is seen as due to the public's perception of a more sensitive police response.

CAUSES

Crime is not caused; it is willed where the opportunities to benefit oneself undetected occur (Clarke, 1980). From this perspective crime between strangers would have a greater benefit

than that between family members, as detection is less likely and the presumed coincidence of material interests in the family would militate against possible advantage. For classicists the family in its private sphere is viewed almost as an individual: crime in this area is crime against oneself. Domestic violence, when it occurs - and it is seen to be infrequent - should be dealt with by the law but resolved in institutions such as marriage guidance where the underlying 'unity' of interests between husband and wife are made clear through counselling.

IMPACT

As classicists generally see the crime rate as low although deplorable, its overall impact on society is minimized. On an individual level its impact is likewise not going to be great since the new administrative criminologists describe the 'typical' victim as 'very much like the typical criminal - not old, female and wealthy, but male, young, single, a heavy drinker, and involved in assaulting others' (Slattery, 1986). Indeed new administrative criminologists regard fear of crime as being more of a problem and as having a greater impact than actual crime, particularly for women and the elderly. It is fear of crime that affects the quality of people's lives by, for example, reducing their use of public space. As a result new administrative criminologists have seen it as their role to reduce exaggerated fear of crime (Mayhew and Hough, 1988).

METHODS

As we have seen, traditional classicism with its emphasis on the legal code would use only those cases that were convicted by a court to investigate the extent and distribution of crime (Tappan, 1947). Crime is that which is adjudicated by the court. The problem here is, of course, the dark figure of crime. For this reason new administrative criminologists utilize the survey method although retaining, as we have seen, legal definitions. They use structured questionnaires and face-to-face interviews to gather information from a sample of the population about crimes which have been committed against them in the previous 12 months. To date there have been four sweeps of the British Crime Survey carried out by new administrative criminologists - in 1982, 84, 88 and 92. In each sweep a representative sample of more than 10,000 people aged 16 years and over were interviewed. New administrative criminologists have also been involved in two international victimisation surveys in which interviews were conducted by telephone (Van Dijk and Mayhew, 1993). Analysis of domestic violence has occurred in the report of the 1992 British Crime Survey (Mayhew et al, 1992).

POLICY

The focus of classicist criminal policy is on the criminal act, the conditions which lead up to the act and previous convictions of the offender are deemed irrelevant. The individual should be punished proportionally to the act and to that offence alone.

Thus, the perpetrator of domestic violence would be judged only in relation to the act which had come to the attention of the authorities, a past history of domestic violence would not be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the classicist distinction between the private and public spheres has implications for policy. As previously stated, classicists argue that government or state intervention should be kept to a minimum in the private sphere in order to protect the rights of the individual and any disputes that do occur are better resolved by employing non-legal methods. Policy is, therefore, more likely to be directed towards the development of mediation and/ or counselling strategies so as to limit disruption of the private sphere. And on those occasions when legal intervention is necessary it is considered important that sets of procedures are adhered to,

> ... which guarantee that the autonomy of individuals and small social systems will be restored as quickly as possible if a crime has not in fact been committed. And...that the process of investigating and legally establishing the existence of a crime shall not so far damage the small social system that they cannot function after being found innocent. (Stinchcombe, 1964: 153).

The policy recommendations of the new administrative criminologists are based on the findings of the British Crime Surveys. Indeed, according to Mayhew and Hough, the argument for the conducting of a national survey, was founded on its potential value to policy-makers,

> ...it would offer a more comprehensive picture of the crime problem, and would thus be a useful contribution to the process of setting priorities and allocating resources. Information about the groups most at risk was expected to prove of practical value in the search for solutions - in crime prevention programmes, for example.
>
> ...Information on crime risks was also expected to demonstrate the comparatively low risks of <u>serious</u> crime, and puncture the inaccurate stereotypes of crime victims. In other words, the survey promised a more informed picture of crime which might help create a more balanced climate of opinion about law and order. (1988: 157, original emphasis).

The focus of new administrative criminology has, therefore, been on crime in public space, property crime and reducing fear of crime. There has been little advice for women experiencing violence in the home and guidelines have tended to be directed at avoiding 'stranger-danger'. Hence, in the Home Office crime prevention campaign of 1988-9, women were instructed: to avoid short cuts through dimly-lit alleys; not to hitch-hike; to cover up expensive looking jewellery; to buy a screech alarm ('their piercing noise can frighten off an attacker'); to sit near the driver or conductor on buses and, when driving, to park in a well-lit, preferably busy area etc. (see Stanko, 1990: 86-88). Crime is presented as 'opportunistic' and, because of this, it is the public who have a central role to play in controlling crime, not the police. Thus Hough and Mayhew point out,

> ...a substantial body of research indicates that it is difficult to enhance the police effect on crime...For many sorts of crimes, people themselves might take more effective preventive action, either acting individually or together with others. The police could do more to promote preventive action of this kind, while the trend to putting more officers on the beat may have the desirable effect of reducing fear of crime. (1983:34).

What is important are the development of situational crime prevention measures to reduce opportunities for crime, these include target hardening (for example, more locks, bolts, burglar and car alarms) and greater public surveillance (for example, through Neighbourhood Watch Schemes).

Criticisms

Criticisms have been directed both at the fundamental principles on which classicism is based and the methodological and policy implications of contemporary classicist thinking.

HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIAL ORDER: Sex and Class Bias in Classicist Thought

Various writers have documented the sex and class bias of classicist thought - Young (1981), Mitchell (1987), Pateman (1988), Naffine (1990), Bryson (1992). For whilst Enlightenment thought used the language of universal rights, these 'rights' were not extended to women or the poor. The word 'man' was not employed in a general way, 'man' was a property-owning male. And it was this bourgeois male who was endowed with the attributes of free will and rationality; it was he who had formal equality, that is with other bourgeois men. Indeed, with respect to women there was general agreement amongst the principal Enlightenment thinkers that women's biological make-up was such that they could not be considered rational individuals (Bryson, 1992). In the

writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu and Rousseau, for example, we find women described as governed by their emotions and passion. Women are seen as having an important function as wives and mothers but their biology is presented as rendering them unfit for life in the public sphere. Women, therefore, did not have the 'capacities' for citizenship in the liberal state and as such were excluded from full participation in society and deemed subject to man's authority. Thus Rousseau wrote in Emile that, 'nature herself has decreed that women should be at the mercy of man's judgement' (1911: 328) and Locke, having overthrown the old patriarchs as represented by the absolute monarchs of the ancien regime, still accepted that since the husband is 'the abler and stronger' (Two Treatises of Government, quoted in Pateman, 1989: 213) he has natural authority over his wife and children. As Pateman has pointed out, these theorists, therefore, constructed 'sexual difference as a political difference, the difference between man's natural freedom and women's natural subjection' (Ibid: 5, original emphasis). It is not surprising, therefore, that Mary Astell, writing on marriage in 1700, questioned the assumptions of early classicist thought,

> If absolute Sovereignty be not necessary in a State how comes it to be so in a Family? or if in a Family why not in a State? since no reason can be alleg'd for the one that will not hold more strongly for the other?
>
> If all men are born free, how is it that all Women are born slaves? As they must be if the being subjected to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown arbitrary Will of Men, be the perfect Condition of Slavery? (quoted in Jaggar, 1983: 27)

And, more recently, Phillips has remarked, 'denied entry by the front door, patriarchy crept in at the back' (1987: 14). It can, of course, be argued that the logical extension of the liberal/ classicist project is the extension of equal rights to women and the poor. Indeed Jaggar has commented with regards to women, that,

> The overriding goal of liberal feminism always has been the application of liberal principles to women as well as men. Most obviously, this means that laws should not grant to women fewer rights than they allow to men. (1983: 35).

But this leaves untouched what Young has described as the 'classicist contradiction' (1981: 264), the contradiction between formal and substantive equality. Classicism ignores the material conditions that govern people's lives, the inequalities caused by differences in gender, class and ethnicity. Whilst these differences exist equality between all women and men cannot be assumed. For substantive inequalities make women financially dependent on men and/or the welfare state, and compounds their problems in domestically violent relationships. Even if, for example, violence committed against men and women were treated equally by the law, the impact of such violence will be greater against women than men because of their economically more vulnerable situation. Women are forced by such dependence to remain in violent relationships, they are tied by both lack of finances and, very often, the needs of their children. Thus, it is the view of many feminists that the main suppositions made by male theorists in the development of liberal theory may not be entirely adequate or appropriate when it comes to discussing

women's needs and experiences (see Bryson, 1992).

Further, the enactment of legislation seeking to protect women within the liberal project, does not necessitate its just implementation. For, as repeated studies of the service delivery of the criminal justice system have shown, the less powerful, whether they be women, ethnic minorities or the working class, have unequal access to law and to legal protection. It is not just that substantive inequalities are ignored by laws which seek to guarantee formal equality but that formal equality is denied because of substantive inequalities in power.

SOCIAL ORDER: The Distinction Between the Public and the Private Spheres

The division of society into public and private spheres is inherently problematic in constructing a theory of domestic violence. Women's 'natural' role is seen as that of a wife and mother, they are defined in terms of their family relationships and as such the private sphere is their domain. And it is, of course, in this private sphere that domestic violence largely occurs. As the private sphere is designated by the liberal state as the sphere of the least state interference this has serious implications. Firstly, power relations in the family have remained unchallenged, that is the state has left power with the husband and father (O'Donovan, 1985) and secondly, as a consequence, women have historically had little formal legal protection against domestic violence. For example, in the past, police officers were often reluctant or would refuse to intervene

in an incident of domestic violence. Indeed Roberts (1984) has commented that in Victorian England, if the police responded to a domestic violence call, they would not go into the house unless invited by the man and it was left to others living in the house to throw him out - making it a public matter - which might then result in an arrest. Thus feminists have repeatedly suggested that the poor treatment traditionally given to women experiencing violence in the home is the result of the division of the world into public and private spheres in which private, the home, is equated with personal and non-interference (Pahl, 1985; Hanmer and Maynard, 1987; Edwards, 1989; Hague and Malos, 1993). As Susan Edwards comments, this division has also meant that, 'it is no accident that a man who beats his wife on the street is more likely to be prosecuted than the man who behaves in exactly the same way in his own home' (1989: 32).

Lastly, it should be noted that whilst women are not excluded from the public sphere today, they are still unable to participate fully because of inequalities in the private sphere (Pateman, 1989). Child rearing, for example, is still largely seen as women's responsibility and a private matter. Women have never been fully incorporated into civil society as individuals and citizens but only as members of the family and we see this reflected in many areas of the law, for example, divorce law, welfare law and immigration law (see Edwards, 1985). Men are still seen as having power over - and responsibility for - their families and can move much more freely between the public and private spheres (O'Donovan, 1985).

DEFINITION: The Problem of Legal Categorisation

To define crime as being that which is against the law creates difficulties in so far as not all forms of domestic violence are covered by the legal categories, for example, mental cruelty. Indeed as Young has pointed-out,

> There are many instances of anti-social behaviour which by and large, are not within the scope of the criminal law: they are too trivial for any courtroom. Petty vandalism is one example, and much sexual and racial harassment another. But the accumulation of such 'incivilities' can make people's lives a misery - more so than the reported instance of a 'true crime' such as a solitary burglary. (1988a: 167).

And, until recently, with respect to domestic violence, this legal tolerance extended to very severe incidents. For, prior to a House of Lords judgement on 23 October 1991, it was regarded as impossible for a man to rape his wife because of the assumption that sexual intercourse in marriage could not be unlawful. Thus: 'it is clear and well settled ancient law that a man cannot be guilty of rape upon his wife'[6]. What was known as the 'married man's exemption' is usually attributed to Sir Matthew Hale, an eighteenth century legal commentator, who justified it using the language of contract. Marriage was seen as a contract, formed in the same way as the original social contract, and sexual intercourse was part of the marital

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[6] From Archbold, Criminal Law Practice and Proceedings, 'the criminal lawyers bible', quoted in Kennedy, 1992: 130.

contract[7]. Hence, according to Hale,

> The husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto her husband, which she cannot retract. (1778: 628).

Furthermore, the use of objective definitions - such as legal categories - can not convey the subjective impact of the act and the context of the violence. What is classed as a 'common assault' will mean different things in different situations - it can, for example, be the result of a fight between two adolescent boys on a football pitch, the result of a psychiatric patient hitting a nurse or part of a long-term history of violence against a woman by her husband or boyfriend. Indeed, as Young has pointed-out:

> Violence, like all forms of crime, is a social relationship. It is rarely random: it inevitably involves particular social meanings and occurs in particular hierarchies of power. Its impact, likewise is predicated on the relationship within which it occurs...the very impact of the offence depends on the relationship between victim and offender. (1988a: 174)

The underlying problem of legal categorisation stems directly from the classicist contradiction: that is an attempt to delineate social harm in terms of formal categories. For we must be aware that social harm will be proportional to the substantive

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[7] Indeed, Pateman remarks, 'until 1884 in Britain, a wife could be jailed for refusing conjugal rights and, until 1891, husbands were allowed forcibly to imprison their wives in the matrimonial home to obtain their rights' (1988:123).

degree of vulnerability of the person so afflicted. The legal notion of judging objectively similar offences as if they were equal in harm and inflicted on equal victims ignores the substantive differences, of an economic, emotional and psychological nature, between victims. I will return to this later in this chapter but suffice to say that of all offences domestic violence highlights the weakness of classicism in this respect.[8]

THE DENIAL OF CAUSES

Classicism does not relate the causes of crime to substantive problems within society. Crime is merely seen as willed where opportunities occur and deterrence is low. Domestic violence is seen as an infrequent crime because of the supposed unity of interest between husband and wife, thus there is no discussion of the wider causes of such violence which lie in patriarchy and gender inequality. This leads to a paradox for it is, of course, in the home, relatively immune from interference because of the classicist notion of its sanctity, that opportunities for violence do regularly occur and deterrence is low. Indeed, Barbara Laslett (1973) has commented that in this century the family has become less susceptible to informal social controls over behaviour. She sees the family as more private today due

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[8] The use of objective legal categorisation; a concentration on the criminal act, rather than on the events which lead up to the act, and the inherent male bias of the law also creates problems in constructing legal defences for battered women who kill (see Edwards, 1985; O'Donovan, 1991; Kennedy, 1992; Rights of Women, 1992; Radford, 1993; Nicolson and Sanghvi, 1993).

to changes in household composition (for example, there has been a decrease in the number of the children born, it is less likely to comprise of extended family members (e.g. grandparents), lodgers, apprentices, servants etc.) and developments in architectural styles and practices. Thus behaviour is less visible and less prone to detection that it was in the past.

PROBLEMS OF METHOD: The Minimization of the Extent and Distribution of Domestic Violence

The traditional classicist method of using official statistics to determine the extent and distribution of crime is not a useful tool particularly in the case of domestic violence. Generally speaking, as noted previously, official police figures are beset with problems of accuracy caused by the dark figure of crime, that is the non-reporting of crime to the police by the public and the non-recording by the police of those crimes that are reported. With respect to domestic violence, it is known, from the work of others (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Walker, 1979; Horley, 1988) that domestic violence is a crime that is rarely reported to the police. As Young has remarked,

> In general property crimes are more likely to be reported than crimes of violence, crimes against high status groups more than those against less powerful groups (eg blacks, women, the lower working class, youth), and crimes committed by strangers more than those committed within the family. To give a potted contrast: a crime committed by a professional robber against a jeweller's shop is more likely to enter the statistics than is domestic violence against a woman who is poverty stricken. (1988a: 169).

Certainly in the past domestic violence was frequently under-recorded by the police. For example, Susan Edwards' study (1986) conducted in Islington and Hounslow found that only about 12 per cent of all reported cases of domestic violence were made the subject of a crime report by the police and, of these, more that four fifths were subsequently 'no-crimed', that is not proceeded with and officially recorded as a crime.

The conventional victimisation survey method employed by the new administrative criminologists - whilst an improvement on the use of official statistics - is also problematic. Women who are experiencing or have experienced domestic violence in the past are likely to be too fearful or embarrassed to talk about their experiences. It is, also, possible that the perpetrator may be near to the interview situation which will obviously inhibit response. Interviewers may also make mistakes, misread questions, lead or mislead respondents, fail to probe when appropriate, lose questionnaires or falsify responses (Walklate. 1989). In the case of the international victimisation surveys, the use of telephone interviews accentuate the above problems, with the exception of interviewer falsification. It is, for example, more difficult to judge the situation in which the interview is being conducted (e.g. the presence of another person, an inconvenient time etc.) or the response of the interviewee to questioning and to probe or modify questions accordingly. Questions are also more likely to be misinterpreted or misunderstood and interviewees have been known to be either over- reserved or over-compliant, the latter giving rise to what

is known as the 'easy' answer, particularly in yes/no questions (see Barnett, 1991). Finally, both international and national surveys add together data from low and high crime areas which tends to obscure the pinpointing of crime within the population (Young, 1992a).

THE MINIMIZATION OF THE IMPACT OF CRIME AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The methods used by classicists have led to an underestimation of the extent and impact of crime. Thus they argue that most crime is petty and people, especially women and the elderly, have an exaggerated perception of their risk rate. However, left realists and feminists, through conducting local surveys, have shown with regards to crime in public space that fear of crime is based on a realistic assessment of risk (e.g. Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Hall, 1985; Stanko, 1985; Jones et al, 1986; Crawford et al, 1990). Further, left realists have pointed out that there is no such thing as an equal victim, people who are victims of crimes tend to experience other social problems and as such this has a compounding effect. Thus a major problem with classicism is that it abstracts crime rates from the actual predicaments which people face. With respect to women, Young has argued that official statistics and the British Crime Surveys conceal crime risk rates and that the impact of crime must be seen as, 'a function of risk, compounding, vulnerability and relationship' (original emphasis); he expands this in the following way:

Concealment of risk: the invisible victim

Domestic violence and sexual crimes are less likely to enter the statistics than property crimes, which leads to the systematic underestimation of violence against women...The actual impact of known crime on women is underplayed by designating much of their victimisation as trivial.

Compounding

Women do not only suffer crime per se but also an undertow of incivilities and harassment which men do not experience. The impact of crime on women cannot be assessed without taking into account these incivilities.

Vulnerability

The relatively powerless situation of women - economically, socially and physically - makes them more unequal victims than men.

Relationships

Crime is a relationship. And as fifteen years of feminist research has indicated, crime against women is about patriarchy. Crime in the home occurs within a relationship of economic dependency: the woman - particularly if she has children - cannot walk away. It occurs within an emotional bond, which gives it all the more hurtful poignancy. Crime and incivilities against women in the streets reflect the overbearing nature of particular values. What a dramatic indictment it is, in the inner cities of Europe, men can quite happily walk the streets at night, yet a huge section of women are curfewed because of fear of crime.

It is easy to see then how crime has a greater impact on women as well as, at the same time, women are more sensitive to violence. For in the last analysis many women react to the adversity of the world by creating a female culture which is opposed to violence, whilst men frequently react to adversity by creating a culture of machismo which is insensitive to violence and, indeed,in some groups glorifies it. (Ibid: 175).

POLICY

The minimization of the extent of domestic violence, the misunderstanding of its impact combined with the denial of causes has led classicism to focus upon stranger violence. There is, therefore, no developed policy on domestic violence and what policy it has tends in the main to be patronizing as Betsy Stanko indicates,

> ...the crime prevention advice is devoted to teaching adult women how to walk in the street, sit on public transport, park their cars and lock their doors. What is ...more extraordinary about the crime prevention literature, is that it is seemingly unaware of all empirical evidence which shows women take more precautions for their safety than do men. (1992: 3).

CHAPTER THREE

POSITIVISM

Positivism as a theory of crime developed in the nineteenth century, influenced by the general enthusiasm for science that dominated the time. It challenged the traditional classicist notions to such an extent that it has been described as an 'intellectual revolution' (Vold and Bernard, 1986: 36). Thus Jock Young in 'Thinking Seriously About Crime' commented that the principles on which positivism is based result in, 'almost a mirror image of classicism' for 'free-will disappears under determinacy, equality bows before natural differences and expert knowledge, and human laws that are created become scientific laws that are discovered' (1981: 267). Positivism's focus is on the criminal and the causes of crime rather than the criminal act. It presents crime as something that individuals are driven to by forces which are largely beyond their control and exhorts the use of the 'scientific method' to identify and investigate those factors which differentiate between criminals and non-criminals. Indeed one of the central tenets is that the, 'premises and instruments which are so demonstrably successful in the study of the physical world and of animal biology are...of equal validity and promise in the study of society and humans' (Ibid: 267). It is for this reason that positivism has been closely linked with empiricism and the collection of 'hard' data (see Jupp, 1989).

Theorists have variously classified the determining factors as biological, psychological, social or multi-factorial which combines elements of each. Historically there are two positivistic traditions within criminology: a sociological perspective, which dates from the work of Adolphe Quetelet and A. M. Guerry (a French lawyer)[1] in the early to mid-nineteenth century, and one which is individualistic - although social factors are inevitably also brought in to its analysis. The most frequently referred to examples of early individualistic positivistic thought are those of the Italian School of Criminology, as presented mainly in the writings of Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri and Raffaele Garofalo, which emerged in the late nineteenth century.

In this chapter the focus will be mainly on the development of individualistic positivism. I will first illustrate the basic tenets of this form of positivism and proceed to show how such an approach is evidenced in the study of domestic violence. The problems inherent in the positivist method are then subject to a critique based on the grid of questions developed in the last

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[1] Indeed Taylor et al credit Quetelet and Guerry for effecting the transition between classicism and positivism and draw attention to Guerry's comment that:

> The time has gone by when we could claim to regulate society by laws established solely on metaphysical theories and a sort of ideal type which was thought to conform to absolute justice. Laws are not made for men in the abstract, for humanity in general, but for real men, placed in precisely determined circumstances. (1863 - quoted in Taylor et al, 1973: 37)

chapter which a theory must answer. Finally, I will turn to two contemporary accounts of domestic violence, those of evolutionary theory and the work of Murray Straus and his colleagues known as the 'family violence' approach. Both of these attempt to circumvent the limits of individualistic positivism by introducing, to a much greater extent, social factors into their analysis whilst confronting the fact that domestic violence is much more widespread than traditional positivism would countenance.

3.1 POSITIVIST THEORIES OF CRIME IN GENERAL

The Italian School of Criminology

Vold and Bernard have described Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) and his followers, Enrico Ferri (1856-1929), Raffaele Garofalo (1852-1934) as all, 'self-conscious positivist(s), rejecting the doctrine of free will and supporting the position that crime can be understood only where it is studied by scientific methods' (1986: 43).

Lombroso

Lombroso has been portrayed as the 'founding father' (Taylor et al, 1973: 41) of biological positivism[1]. Ferri credited him as, 'demonstrating...that we must first understand the criminal who offends, before we can study and understand his crime' (1912: 15). In The Criminal Man (1876) Lombroso put forward the

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[1] Despite being referred to in this way, or more grandly as 'the father of modern criminology' (Wolfgang, 1960: 168), various commentators (Savitz et al, 1977;Quinney and Wildeman, 1977; Vold and Bernard, 1986; Lily et al, 1989) have been at pains to point out that Lombroso was not the first to link biological explanations to criminal behaviour. Savitz et al, for example, cite the studies of Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) and the Phrenological School and Lily et al (1989), the even earlier work of John Caspar Lavater (1741- 1781). Further in refutation of the description of Lombroso as 'the father of modern criminology', biological positivism was, as noted previously, pre-dated by sociological positivism - although as Savitz et al remark,

> Criminology textbooks and volumes purportedly surveying the historical development of criminological theory and research usually blithely leap from the armchair speculations of the 'classical' theorists to the research of Lombroso and his school. The early 19th...environment research of A.M. Guerry, Quetelet and others seem never to have existed. (1977: 41-42).

With respect to this, as we shall see, it is of interest that Lombroso himself was well aware of nineteenth century environmental research. It is the historians of criminology not the criminologists of the time who suffer from such amnesia.

Darwinian notion[3] that male offenders were biological throwbacks to an earlier evolutionary stage of development, they were seen as more primitive and less highly evolved than non-criminals: the criminal, 'reproduces in his person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals' (quoted in Mannheim, 1965: 216). Individuals were, therefore, 'born criminals' (a term coined by Ferri, see Wolfgang (1960)) and Lombroso used the word 'atavistic' to characterize them. By comparing criminals to non-criminals he claimed to have identified a number of physical anomalies which indicated a criminal propensity. For example,

> ...deviation in head size and shape from the type common to the race and religion from which the criminal came; asymmetry of the face; excessive dimensions of the jaw and cheek bones; eye defects and peculiarities; ears of unusual size, or occasionally very small, or standing out from the head as do those of the chimpanzee; nose twisted, upturned, or flattened in thieves, or aquiline or beaklike in murderers, or with a tip rising like a peak from swollen nostrils; lips fleshy, swollen, and protruding; pouches in the cheek like those of some animals; peculiarities of the palate, such as a large central ridge, a series of cavities and protuberances such as are found in some reptiles, and cleft palate; abnormal dentition; chin receding, or excessively long or short and flat, as in apes; abundance, variety, and precocity of wrinkles, anomalies of the hair, marked by characteristics of the hair of the opposite sex; defects of the thorax, such as too many or too few ribs, or supernumerary nipples; inversion of sex characteristics in the pelvic organs; excessive length of arms; supernumerary fingers and toes; imbalance of the hemispheres of the brain (asymmetry of cranium). (The Criminal Man, quoted in Wolfgang, 1960: 186).

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[3] In the Descent of Man Darwin wrote: 'With mankind some of the worst dispositions which occasionally without any assignable cause make their appearance in families, may perhaps be reversions to a savage state, from which we are not removed by many generations' (1871: 371).

In addition to such physical characteristics, many of which have obvious racist connotations, Lombroso noted in the born criminal other factors such as: a lack of moral sense (e.g. vanity, cruelty, idleness), various sensory and functional peculiarities (e.g. greater sensibility to pain and touch, more ambidexterity, greater strength in the left limbs), the use of criminal slang and a proclivity for tattooing. Lombroso did, however, following criticism[4] and more extensive investigation, modify his theory. He later conceded that not all criminals were born criminals by classifying them into various types - 1) born criminals, 2) insane criminals, 3) criminaloids - who were occasional criminals and 4) criminals of passion which arise out of 'anger, platonic or filial love, offended honour' (see Wolfgang, 1960: 188-190) and gave more attention to factors in the physical and social environment of the male offender. Indeed Lily et al have commented that, 'the modern search for multi-factorial explanations of crime is usually attributed to Cesare Lombroso' (1989: 27). Thus, as early as the second edition of The Criminal Man (1878) he makes use of London data from Mayhew's Criminal Life (1860) and Barce's Dangerous Classes of New York (1874) and emphasizes several environmental conditions that cause or have an effect on criminality, including that of poverty; the relationship between prices of wheat, rye, potatoes and other

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[4] Lombroso's theory attracted much controversy and was widely criticised by the leading social scientists of the day - Gabriel Tarde, Henri Joly, Georg von Mayr and W.A. Bonger. Indeed Herbert Bloch and Gilbert Geis commented, 'the best criticism of Lombroso remains that of the French anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830-1911)...who, when shown a collection of Lombroso's pictures of asymmetric and stigmatic criminals, remarked wryly that the pictures looked no different than those of his own friends' (1970: 89).

foods and minor violations, arson, crimes against property and crimes against the person; the influence of alcohol; the effects of criminal association in prisons that are not built on the cellular system and so on (see Wolfgang, 1960: 208). Moreover Lombroso's last book Crime: Its Causes and Remedies (1899) opens with, 'Every crime has its origin in a multiplicity of causes' and proceeds to discuss many factors related to crime causation, the majority of which are environmental. Nevertheless, despite such statements, Lombroso remained convinced that the major determining factors are biological and thus continued to see the criminal as inferior, degenerate and defective in some way (Quinney and Wildeman, 1977). Today Lombroso's theories of the criminal man are variously dismissed[5] as 'bizarre' (Jupp, 1989: 2), 'fanciful' (Heidensohn, 1985: 114), 'simple and naive' (Lily et al, 1989: 29 and 'an amusing and slightly unfortunate episode in the development of criminology' (Smart, 1976: 32) - although as we shall see, a biological positivist stance has remained in criminology (see Eysenck, 1964). And there has been a recent, 'revitalization of the view that criminals are wicked by nature'

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[5] Despite being criticized at the time and considerably subsequently Rose et al have noted how such presentations of the criminal man found their way into mass culture. They cite the example of Agatha Christie:

> In an early book (The Secret Adversary, 1922) we find her clean-cut young upper-class English hero secretly observing the arrival of a Communist trade unionist at a rendezvous:'The man who came up the staircase with a soft-footed tread was quite unknown to Tommy. He was obviously of the very dregs of society. The low beetling brows, and the criminal jaw, the bestiality of the whole countenance were new to the young man, though he was a type that Scotland Yard would have recognised at a glance.' Lombroso would have recognised him too. (1990:54).

(Lily et al, 1989:45) - see, for example, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) - and Darwinist ideas with respect to domestic violence through the application of evolutionary theory (see Burgess and Draper, 1989; Wilson, 1989; Wilson and Daly, 1992; Daly and Wilson, 1994).

Women Offenders

Lombroso's work, unlike much traditional criminology (see commentaries by Heidensohn (1985) and Morris (1987)), was not confined to the male offender[6]. In 1893 he published The Female Offender, written in collaboration with his son-in-law, Ferrero. In this, women criminals were investigated in a similar way to men, that is the emphasis was placed on uncovering the various physiological and pathological anomalies associated with criminality. However, whilst certain physical characteristics were apparent (for example, Lombroso and Ferrero noted, 'certain wrinkles, such as the fronto-vertical, the wrinkles on the cheek bones, crow's feet and labial wrinkles on the cheek bones are more frequent and deeply marked in criminal women of mature age' (1895: 71-2, English trans.), they found much less variability amongst women. All women (criminal and non-criminal) were described in terms that, although derogatory, reflect the attitudes of the time towards respectable and 'other' women. Thus women were generally presented as less developed than men, for example, as similar to children and with less sensitivity to

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[6] Other early biological determinist work on female criminality includes that of Adams (1910 - referred to in Kennedy, 1992), Thomas (1923) and Pollak (1950)

pain and, as such, all were seen as having the potential to commit crime, 'the...semi-criminal present in the normal woman' (Ibid: 150). In the 'normal' woman these deficiencies were usually kept in check by piety and maternity. Women, therefore, had low offending rates and Lombroso and Ferrero found them more likely to be occasional rather than born criminals. But when a woman was a born criminal -for example, born criminals were found to be more frequent amongst prostitutes- she was presented as much worse than a man. The following quotation summarizes Lombroso and Ferrero's position on women and the woman offender:

> We have seen the normal woman is naturally less sensitive to pain than a man, and compassion is the offspring of sensitiveness. If one be wanting, so will the other be. We also saw that women have many traits in common with children; that their moral sense is deficient; they are revengeful, jealous, inclined to vengeances of a refined cruelty.
>
> In ordinary cases these defects are neutralised by piety, maternity, want of passion, sexual coldness by weakness and an undeveloped intelligence. But when a morbid activity of the physical centres intensifies the bad qualities of women, and induces them to seek relief in evil deeds; when piety and maternal sentiments are wanting, and in their place are strong passions and intensely erotic tendencies, much muscular strength and a superior intelligence for the conception and execution of evil, it is clear that the innocuous semi-criminal present in the normal woman must be transformed into a born criminal more terrible than any man. (Ibid: 150).

Frances Heidensohn has noted the duality of such an analysis: 'women are both wicked and saintly, whores and mothers...the criminal woman is 'perceived as particularly unnatural, she is masculine and virile and shows an inversion of all the qualities which specially distinguish the normal woman; namely reserve,

docility and sexual apathy' (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1895: 297)'(1985: 112, 114). And as Carol Smart has put it, '"true" female criminals are biologically abnormal, because first they are rare and second they are not fully female'. This, 'produces a situation in which female offenders are doubly damned for not only are they legally sanctioned for their offences, they are socially condemned for being biologically or sexually abnormal' (1976: 34). Moreover various feminist writers (e.g. Smart (1976), Heidensohn (1985), Carlen (1985) Morris (1987)) have argued that biological positivist theories have particularly dominated the study and treatment of women offenders, more so than those of men. As Smart commented in 1976, 'variations on the belief in biological determinism, both of crime and the nature of women, on sexist beliefs in the inferiority of women and an implicit support of double-standards of morality, along with the failure to take account of the socio-economic, political and legal context in which "crime" occurs, all appear in later works on female criminality.' (1976:36)[7]. Moreover Pat Carlen has demonstrated that they have had a detrimental effect on the treatment of female offenders by the criminal justice system: 'in the nutshell of Lombroso and Ferrero's theory of 1895...are all the elements of a penology for women which persists in misogynous

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[7] In Crime: Its Causes and Remedies, Lombroso did, however, comment on other factors that might be relevant. For example, on women and urban crime, he wrote,

> ...women are more criminal in the more civilised countries. They are almost always drawn into crime by false pride about their poverty, by a desire for luxury, and by masculine occupations and education, which give them the means and opportunity to commit crimes against the laws of the Press, and swindling. (1912: 54, English trans.).

themes' (1985:3). And, as we shall see, this is of relevance to the present study of domestic violence not just in terms of the treatment of battered women who kill (see Nicolson and Sanghvi, 1993; Radford, 1993) but more generally with respect to the presentation of women victims.

Garofalo and Ferri

Lombroso's followers Garofalo and Ferri, whilst never renouncing Lombroso's biological positivism, put more emphasis on other determining factors. Garofalo's focus was on the importance of psychological factors. Indeed in the introduction to his major publication, Criminology (1880), he commented that his work should only be included in the school of criminal anthropology, as represented by the physical type perspective of Lombroso, on the proviso that, 'it be granted that of this science criminal psychology is the most important chapter' (quoted in Vold and Bernard, 1986: 44). His position was that criminals had psychological or moral anomalies which could be transmitted through heredity. He saw, for example, the true criminal as lacking a 'proper development of altruistic sentiments' (Allen, 1960: 262). Ferri, on the other hand, gave more attention to the inter-relatedness of social, economic and political factors. He suggested that crime could be controlled by social changes, many of which aimed to benefit the poorer members of society. Thus, he recommended such things as subsidized housing, birth control, freedom of marriage, divorce and public recreation facilities, 'each reflective of his

socialistic belief that the state is responsible for creating better living and working conditions' (Lily et al, 1989: 30). Ferri also achieved notoriety for endorsing Mussolini and Fascism after being a socialist for nearly fifty years. As many have pointed out (Lily et al, 1989; Vold and Bernard, 1985; Quinney and Wildeman,1977), positivistic views with their emphasis on the scientific expert are easily adapted to totalitarian styles of government[1].

Post - Italian School Positivism

Victor Jupp comments that, despite extensive criticism of positivism, the central ideas have proved influential and, 'since these early beginnings of positivism there have been successive surges in the changing and widening of, criminological explanations' (1989: 2). Indeed Heidensohn has suggested that, 'the persistence of the positivist paradigm is one of the most marked features of twentieth century social science', making an important contribution to the study of crime (1989: 148).

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[1] As Vold and Bernard comment,

> (Positivism) is centred on the core idea of the superior knowledge and wisdom of the scientific expert who, on the basis of scientific knowledge, decides what kind of human beings commit crimes, and prescribes treatment without concern for public opinion and without consent from the person so diagnosed (i.e., the criminal). There is an obvious similarity between the control of power in society advocated in positivism and the political reality of centralized control of the life of the citizen by a government bureaucracy indifferent to public opinion. (1986: 42).

The majority of studies in the first half of this century, likewise, located the determining factors within the individual identifying the causes to be biological and/or psychological.

Biological Explanations

The idea of a connection between biology and criminality is seen, for example, in the work of Hooton (1939), Sheldon (1949) and Glueck and Glueck (1950). Hooton found, amongst other physical factors, that criminals were smaller than non-criminals, 'criminals are inferior to civilians in nearly all of their bodily measurements' (1939, vol 1: 329). Although he noted the larger the criminal, the more serious the crimes were likely to be. Sheldon, studying delinquent male youths, distinguished three main types of human physique: muscular active types (mesomorphs), thin physiques (ectomorphs) and more fleshy, fat builds (endomorphs). Mesomorphs, he proposed, were more likely to be delinquent. The work of the Gluecks supported this: they found, as a result of a comparative study of delinquents and non-delinquents, that delinquents had narrower faces, wider chests, larger and broader waists, bigger forearms and upper arms than non-delinquents (Lily et al, 1989).

Moreover, there have been attempts to link criminal tendencies to a specific set of chromosomes in genetic inheritance: it has been claimed that criminals, particularly violent criminals, include a disproportionately high number of men who have an extra Y chromosome (Jacobs et al, 1965; Price and Whatmore, 1967).

Psychological Explanations

Other perspectives have focused on the psychology of the individual. Many of these were particularly influenced by Freudian psychoanalysis and thus attributed criminal behaviour to defects in the ego or superego (see Vold and Bernard, 1986). The psychoanalytic approach is, for example, evident in the work of Alexander and Healy (1935). As Lily et al note Alexander and Healy, 'explained one male criminal's behaviour as the result of four unconscious needs: 1) overcompensation for a sense of inferiority, 2) the attempt to relieve a sense of guilt, 3) spite tendencies toward his mother, and 4) gratification of his dependent tendencies by living a carefree existence in prison' (1989: 38). There have, in addition, been numerous studies that have attempted to identify certain personality traits as predictors of criminality such as emotional instability, aggressiveness, immaturity, excitability, mechanical aptitude and so on. (Quinney and Wildemann, 1977) and criminals have been categorized as 'psychopaths', 'sociopaths' and 'anti-social' personalities. Guze (1976), for example, discovered that sociopathy, along with alcoholism and drug addiction, were the only psychiatric conditions consistently linked with criminality. Furthermore, studies which have used the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory have found delinquents and criminals to be more 'psychopathic' than non-delinquents and non-criminals (Vold and Bernard, 1986).

Hans Eysenck

In the work of Hans Eysenck (1964; Eysenck and Gudjonsson, 1989) psychology is combined with biological determinism. In Crime and Personality (1964), he proposed that there were two basic personality types - extraverts and introverts - which are genetically based. Extraversion, he argued, was linked to criminality. As West puts it,

> The outgoing, socially active, stimulus- seeking extravert was thought to have low arousal and to respond relatively poorly to conditioning situations, including disciplinary punishments. The introvert, more keyed up, with high cortical arousal, more reflective and self-examining, would react more sharply to punishments, actual or anticipated and would therefore tend to be more conformist. (1988: 79).

With respect to women, Eysenck chose to test his hypothesis on groups of married and unmarried mothers. He suggested that being an unmarried mother is an indication that the woman is more likely to be promiscuous and, therefore, deviant. From a study conducted by Sybil B. G. Eysenck, he found,

> The unmarried mothers were...(discovered to be) both more extraverted and also to have much higher degrees of emotionality than did the married mothers. When compared with the general population norms too, it was found again that the unmarried mothers tended to fall into the psychopathic quadrant, i.e., were high on neuroticism and high on extraversion. (1964: 132).

Thus we find in Eysenck's work an attitude towards women that bears a similarity to that of Lombroso and Ferrero's.

Contemporary Positivism (mid 1980s to the present)

In recent years, as previously noted, there has been a resurgence of positivist ideas that focus on individual and biological factors. The most well-known example of this is James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein's Crime and Human Nature (1985). Wilson was an advisor to the Reagan and Bush administrations and as such was a particularly influential figure in the 1980s'. In Crime and Human Nature Wilson and Herrnstein state, 'our intention is to offer as comprehensive an explanation as we can manage of why some individuals are more likely than others to commit crime' (1985: 20). Their argument focuses mainly on what they term 'constitutional factors',some of which are genetic, which they suggest predispose individuals to become criminals. The biological positivist stance of their approach is apparent from the following statement,

> The existence of biological predispositions means that circumstances that activate behaviour in one person will not do so in another, that social forces cannot deter criminal behaviour in 100 percent of the population, and that the distribution of crime within and across societies may, to some extent, reflect underlying distribution of constitutional factors. Crime cannot be understood without taking into account predispositions and their biological roots.' (Ibid: 103).

It is, therefore, not surprising that Young has described their work as 'the new scientific revolution of the 'born again'

' Prior to this Wilson worked for the Nixon government: in 1972 he was Chair of the National Advisory Council for Drug Abuse Prevention, the prelude to the modern 'War Against Drugs'.

Lombrosians' (1994: 70) and Lily et al comment that, 'Wilson and Herrnstein's perspective harkens back to the theories of Lombroso, Hooton, Sheldon and the Gluecks' (1989: 196). Indeed in Crime and Human Nature they lend support to the notion that criminals can be differentiated from non-criminals by body type:

> Wherever it has been examined, criminals on average differ in physique from the population at large. They tend to be more mesomorphic (muscular) and less ectomorphic (linear), with the third component (endomorphy) not clearly deviating from normal. Where it has been assessed, the 'masculine' configuration called andromorphy also characterizes the average criminal. (1985: 89)

And reproduce Sheldon's 1949 photographs of body types. They cite evidence from twin and adoptive studies to support their belief that there is a genetic basis to crime: 'the criminality of the biological parents is...more important than that of the adoptive parents, suggesting a genetic transmission of some factor or factors associated with crime' (Ibid: 96). On how constitutional factors effect criminality - in line with the psychological positivism of Eysenck - Wilson and Herrnstein suggest they affect the ability to consider future and immediate rewards and punishment. 'For example, aggressive and impulsive males with low intelligence are at a greater risk than young males who have developed 'the bite of conscience' , which reflects a higher cognitive and intellectual development' (Lily et al, 1989: 197). The family, is seen as able to 'moderate and magnify any natural predispositions' (Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985: 217) through early conditioning, thus we also have the 'bad families produce bad children' argument. Lily et al have

described Wilson and Herrnstein's work as, 'representative of a growing trend to root crime in human nature' and refer to various studies to support this (1989: 199). They present it as a product of the ethos of individualism which was encouraged by a succession of Republican governments in the United States:

> 'Failure' - whether by being poor, or perhaps by being criminal - is seen either as a matter of choosing a profligate lifestyle or as a product of defects in the individual's character or endowment. The danger of such thinking is not only that it erroneously overlooks the social sources of human behaviour but it eases social conscience: Because individuals are to blame for their actions, no need exists to question the justice of the prevailing social arrangements or to support policies that call on citizens to share their advantages with the less fortunate. (Ibid: 194-5).

3.2 POSITIVIST THEORIES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The first theories of domestic violence to emerge in the late 1960s and 1970s were put forward by clinicians, psychiatrists and psychologists. As Mildred Pagelow has commented, this is hardly surprising, 'since people in related fields of medicine were most likely to come in close contact with victims and their abusers sooner and with easier accessibility than any others in the social and behavioral sciences' (1984: 112). Positivist approaches to domestic violence to a large extent mirror those of crime in general. Thus, this early work individualised the problem, it focused on the pathological and deviant characteristics of the male perpetrator and frequently also of the woman victim. Those involved in violent relationships are

presented as certain 'types' who are different from 'normal' members of society. Their behaviour is presented as being caused by factors which reside within them, although, as previously mentioned, certain social factors were inevitably also seen as relevant. The implication of these theories, however, is that not anyone will become a batterer or be battered and those who do are a minority.

The Male Offender

The male offender is variously classified in this literature, as in the psychological positivist approach to crime in general, as 'mentally ill', 'psychopathic', 'sociopathic', 'neurotic', 'disturbed', 'sick' with an 'inadequate personality' and with a history of drug or alcohol misuse, or other intra-individual abnormalities (see Freeman, 1979; Pagelow, 1985; Gelles and Cornell, 1985; Smith, 1989). As various commentators have remarked such descriptions were commonly used for the myriad forms of family violence: 'all types of family violence, beginning with child abuse in the 1960s, were initially viewed as rare occurrences engaged in by psychopathological individuals, the most depraved persons who suffered from some sort of 'mental illness'' (Pagelow, 1985: 111) or as David Finkelhor has put it,

> ...they were analyzed as extremely pathological behaviours. Incest offenders were seen as backwards degenerates and feebleminded freaks. Child beaters were seen as depraved. Wife beaters were seen as alcoholic rogues and psychopaths and were considered to come from only extremely lower class and disorganized families. (1981: 12).

Thus Faulk found in his study of twenty-three men remanded in custody for charges of seriously assaulting their wives or co-habitees that,

> At the time of the offence, 16 were found to have a psychiatric disorder...When compared with the age of the subjects it was found that 7 of the 8 over 40 years of age had serious psychiatric illness. Four had depression which was diagnosed by a marked lowering of mood, loss of hope, and suicidal feelings. One had dementia as shown by a deterioration in intellectual activity. Three suffered from delusional jealousy, one associated with depression and the other with a paranoid personality. Of the 15 below 40 years of age, 7 had a psychiatric disturbance. Of these, 2 had a marked disturbance of personality, 2 had a severe anxiety state, and 1 a post head injury syndrome. Only 2 had the more severe forms of mental illness, i.e., 1 was depressed and the other suffered from a paranoid illness. (1974: 180).

Erin Pizzey, one of the founders of Chiswick Women's Refuge in the early 1970s, wrote that, 'no one likes the word psychopath, but that is exactly what he is - aggressive, dangerous, plausible and deeply immature' (Evidence to House of Commons Select Committee on Violence in Marriage, quoted in Freeman, 1979: 137). Likewise, Gayford (1975) showed the husband to be pathologically jealous, badly brought up, spoiled and indulged as a child. Gambling and drinking were also cited as major contributory factors. He commented, 'a picture emerges of men with low frustration tolerance, who often completely lose control under the influence of alcohol' (Ibid: 196). Indeed there is frequent reference made to the influence of biophysical factors such as alcohol (Dewsbury, 1975; Roy, 1977; Fojtik, 1977; Rounsaville, 1978; Labell, 1979; Appleton, 1980; Stewart and deBlois, 1981) and more recently drugs, particularly that of 'crack' (Gelles and Cornell, 1985). Contemporary psychological positivists have

linked personality defects with the more extreme forms of violence. For example, O'Leary has commented,

> ...it is clear that as the level of physical aggression increases, the greater the likelihood that some personality style, trait or disorder will be associated with physical aggression...In samples of men who engage in severe acts of physical aggression and coercive factors against a partner, the likelihood of finding that an individual has a significantly elevated score on a scale that assesses personality disorder is very high. (1993: 25).

Furthermore, the transmission of violence from one generation to the next has proved a popular explanation within this framework: witnessing or being subjected to violence as a child is said to result in a violent individual (Roy, 1977; Flynn, 1977; Gayford 1978; Fitch and Papantonio, 1983,). Here, the 'sick' individual is seen as the product of the 'sick' family.

The Woman Victim

This approach has additionally looked for predisposing factors in the woman victim. Thus she is presented as abnormal and variously described as 'masochistic', 'paranoid', 'depressed', 'neurotic' or 'mentally ill'. Frequently, the woman is portrayed similarly to positivistic accounts of women offenders (for example, that of Lombroso and Ferrero (1895)) and Eysenck's (1964) conception of unmarried mothers. That is as deviating from the conventional gender role expectations, in so far as being 'aggressive', 'masculine' and 'overly sexual'. As such she is regarded as having caused her own victimisation. Indeed it should be noted that victim precipitation theories were commonly

used at this time to explain all forms of violence against women (see, for example, Amir, 1971, with respect to rape). A particularly deplorable example of this in terms of domestic violence is found in the work of John Gayford (1975, 1976, 1978, 1979) who interviewed one hundred women at the Chiswick refuge. In his 1976 article he categorised victims into misogynistic stereotypes such as 'Tortured Tina', 'Fanny the Flirt' and 'Go Go Gloria'. As Pagelow points out, this is, 'hardly the kind of writing expected in scientific journals' (1985: 115). Further, in a later piece Gayford comments that, 'there are many ways in which women can be provocative and so cause friction in a marital relationship' (1979: 501) and cites factors such as the wife's inadequacy, over controlling nature and sexual provocativeness. He describes the 'provocative wife' in the following way:

> This type of woman has always enjoyed the company of the opposite sex, even in childhood. Not only does she know how to seek attention but also often enjoys the game of offsetting one man against another. She is generally vivacious and energetic, with many of the qualities of the stimulus seeker who is constantly looking for excitement...Both she and her husband tend to have extramarital sexual relationships, but nevertheless they often have an exciting sexual relationship within the marriage in spite of the violence. (Ibid: 501).

And perhaps more controversially, in view of her work at Chiswick, Erin Pizzey writing with Jeff Shapiro (1981; 1982) advanced the hypothesis that some women are biochemically addicted to violence - they need to be hurt - and when one violent relationship ends they will find themselves another violent partner. This argument, as Smith has remarked, whilst outraging many of Pizzey's early supporters 'was sympathetically

received by many psychiatrists and therapists' (1989: 24). Neither earlier research (Walker, 1979; Gayford, 1979) or subsequent studies (Andrews, 1987) have substantiated Pizzey and Shapiro's position.

Beginning with the positivist conception of Human Nature and Social Order, let us now turn to those questions which a theory of domestic violence should answer:

HUMAN NATURE

In individual positivism human nature is determined by forces residing within the individual which affect the degree to which the individual is socialised into the values of society. Thus violence is not seen, as in classicism, as a rational choice but one which is caused by factors which may be psychological, biological or social or a combination of each. As Gelles and Loseke have noted not only is this the oldest framework on domestic violence, 'it is the commonsense perspective of everyday life in modern day...society, where we tend to think that problematic behaviours of all sorts are created by individual pathology' (1993: 1). Young has pointed out that by considering human behaviour in this way and thus, 'asserting that deviancy is a non-rational, determinate product, the positivists take all human volition and meaning away from activity' (1981: 271).

SOCIAL ORDER

For individual positivists social order is presented as consensual. Society is seen as a balanced system underwritten by consensual values into which 'normal' individuals are socialized. Successful socialisation is necessary to preserve the workings of the system. It is assumed, therefore, that there is general agreement within society over what is conventional behaviour and what is deviant, with the majority of the population seen as conforming to behavioural norms and a small minority who are deviant. The family is considered to be the prime site of socialisation. Thus, in this account, domestic violence, as indicated by Finkelhor's (1981) comment above, is a breakdown of order within the major locus of socialisation and is the result of pathologies in the make up of individual men and women. Indeed, in support of the disordered family hypothesis, Gayford found in his study twenty-three cases in which there had been more than one marriage or co-habitation, that the women, 'tended to come from large families and to have plenty of children, even though most interviewed had not finished their reproductive life' and most of the children were disturbed (1975; 195).

Domestic Violence as Functional to the Social Order

Domestic violence may, paradoxically, be seen within individual positivism to be functional to the maintaining of social order: social order being patriarchal in structure. It can be regarded

as a response by the man to 'readjust' the maladjusted woman to the 'normal' family role. Thus Elizabeth Wilson notes,

> ...some theoreticians of the family explicitly state that violence or its threat are crucial to the maintenance of the structure of the family. Research has therefore tended to concentrate on the battered woman's 'deviance' from the accepted norm of submission to her husband - and that is how the norm is defined in the research...The message is always the same: that if they let themselves be dominated it would not happen, nor would it happen if husbands had their rightful higher status - if women are in better jobs than their husbands, this will frustrate their menfolk and so explain and justify their violence.
>
> Other forms of 'provocation' which 'cause' male violence are said to be 'verbal attacks' (nagging), the 'liberated woman' who attacks her husband's 'male chauvinist' attitudes and verbal abuse as a response to a husband's drinking or sexual deficiencies. So-called provocation is used as a powerful tool to justify the husband's bullying and brutality. He is simply reasserting his 'rightful status'. (1983: 92).

DEFINITION

In line with its emphasis on scientific procedure, positivists have always insisted that they the experts must define the terms used and not directly employ legal definitions. This is, of course, in sharp contrast to classicists who explicitly insist on using legal terminology. As noted in the preceding chapter, the problem with classicism is that the formal categories of the law do not correspond to the substantive social harm which offences create. In the case of domestic violence, then, legal statutes do not reflect the social harm which women experience. For example, incessant minor violence, which might generate considerable harm, would be seen as just discrete acts of minor violence. And mental cruelty would simply not be within the

legal rubric.

The individual positivist, however, wishes to construct his or her own definitions which scientifically reflect the 'reality' of the problem. In doing so, they assume that there is a consensus in the population with regards to what constitutes domestic violence. This invocation of a consensus is necessary for positivism, in general, in that in its pursuit of scientific objectivity and measurement it needs a stable yardstick by which to delineate phenomenon (see Taylor et al, 1973: 17 et seq). If crime is defined differently by different groups then there can be no possibility of uncontested measurement (see Eysenck and Gudjonsson, 1989). This need for objectivity and measurability thus tends to lead to a focus on obvious physical violence where everyone would agree that domestic violence has occurred and measurement is unproblematic. Much of the early literature, therefore, focuses on that violence which is visible (i.e. physical injuries) and can be labelled medically (for example, 'most injuries are found on the head and neck, with a periorbital haematoma being the commonest' (Gayford, 1979: 500)). Thus, we find mental cruelty and sexual violence are rarely referred to. Further, Gayford distinguishes between aggression and violence in his research - violence being seen as easier to define as problematic behaviour,

> Aggression is an unprovoked attack whereas violence is the exercise of physical force so as to inflict injury or damage to person or property. Thus aggression may be verbal but violence is always physical; aggression can be constructive but violence is always physically damaging. (Ibid: 496).

However, as various commentators have pointed out, violence is a social construction and its definition will vary according to the values of the individual doing the defining; these will be affected by such variables as gender, age, social class and education. Individual positivism, therefore, does not overcome the problems of classicism with regards to definition. It substitutes the expert for the lawyer as the definer of the phenomenon and does not reflect the various definitions of the women involved (see Kelly, 1988a). Where it goes beyond classicism, however, is that it is not merely concerned with the act but with the actors involved.

EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION

Individual positivists view domestic violence as a minority problem engaged in by a few psychologically disturbed individuals[10]. Those involved in violent relationships are presented as certain types, they are different from other so-called normal members of society. Such a belief would suggest that the 'normal' family is immune from such transgression. The implication of this has been highlighted by Gelles and Cornell who point out that,

> One way of upholding the image of the nurturant and safe family is to combine the myth that family violence is rare

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[10] However, as we shall see, contemporary positivist accounts of domestic violence, those of evolutionary theory and the family violence approach - which includes the work of Gelles and Cornell (1985) - confront the fact that domestic violence is much more widespread than traditional individual positivism would countenance.

with the myth that only 'sick' people abuse family members. Combining the two myths allows us to believe that, when and if the violence does take place, it is the problem of 'people other than us'. An example of this is the manner in which family violence is portrayed in literature, television, or the movies. The sociologists Murray Straus and Suzanne Steinmetz reviewed American fiction, television shows, and movies for examples of family violence. First, they found violence between family members infrequently portrayed. When there was an incident of violence, it almost always involved a violent act committed by someone who was a criminal (the violent son in the movie The Godfather, foreign (the comic strip Andy Capp), or drunk (Rhett Butler in Gone with the Wind). The message conveyed by the media is that normal people do not hit family members. (1985: 14).

Further, Gelles and Cornell suggest the reason why such individualistic explanations of domestic violence have remained popular,

> (lies) paradoxically, in the fact that family violence is so extensive in society that we do not want to recognise it as a pattern of family relations. Somehow, we do not want to consider our own potential to abuse or even consider that some of the acts we engage in (pushing a wife, slapping a child) are violent or abusive. If we persist in believing that violence and abuse are the products of aberrations or sickness and, therefore, believe ourselves to be well, then our acts cannot be hurtful or abusive. (Ibid: 112).

With respect to its distribution, individual positivists hold that, in the main, it is women who are the victims and men who are the perpetrators of domestic violence. Indeed, in the early literature, the term 'battered wife' is used more frequently than 'domestic violence' or 'family violence' emphasising its gendered distribution. Very seldomly was a man found to be the victim and on the few occasions when a woman lashed out she was regarded as more likely to end up injured. As Dewsbury comments,

> Why never battered husbands? In this study we looked for but failed to find battery of any husband in the practice. There were two injured males, one before and one after the period of observation...An alcoholic psychopath knifed her husband. The other case was from an increasingly violent homosexual relationship. (1975: 293).

And Gayford remarks, 'women may attack men and with the aid of weapons may kill them, but it is very rare indeed for them to batter men' (1979: 496). These findings, as will be shown, contrast to those of the family violence researchers who controversially show men to be as much at risk of violence from their wives, as women are from their husbands (Straus et al, 1980; Straus and Gelles, 1988).

In terms of the relationship of domestic violence to class, whilst it is acknowledged that such background inadequacies, as identified by individual positivists, may occur in a minority of instances throughout the class structure, it is suggested by many that the lower working class with its 'weak and disturbed' family structure will give rise to an exceptional proportion of inadequates. As Young points out,

> (They note) that it is at the very bottom of the class structure, where the incidence of crime is greatest, that such 'defects' are most likely to occur. For it is there that the least capable individuals accumulate and pass on their inadequacies from generation to generation in a cycle of deprivation. (1981: 269). [11]

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[11] This is not to suggest that all individual positivist explanations of domestic violence support the view that it is predominantly located in the lower socio-economic groups. Gayford (1978), for example, found no class relationship in his study.

Hence a number of studies also cite social factors such as unemployment as indicators of domestic violence (Prescott and Letko, 1977; Fojitik, 1977-8; Rounsaville, 1978). Ethnic variation is also suggested by several researchers. For example, Gayford claimed, 'both immigrant men and women from the Republic of Ireland and the West Indies appeared to be over-represented' (1979: 498) and Dewsbury reported that his Birmingham based study showed that, 'there is a raised incidence of cases from cultures foreign to the Midlands' (1975: 293) and, like Gayford, referred to West Indians and Irish Catholics. Again the implication is that domestic violence is a problem for people 'other than us', that is, not for the white, male, middle-class medical or psychiatric professionals who largely conducted these studies.

Thus, in terms of the official statistics, whilst rejecting legal categorisation, individual positivists would not be at odds with their findings. As Jock Young points out,

> However much the positivists would be sceptical of the crime statistics in that they are a product of an unscientific conceptualisation collected in a process which is unsystematic and non-exhaustive, they would not doubt their basic pyramidal shape and the variations indicated between different groups of people. That is, that the incidence of crime is indeed greater among blacks than whites, young than old, male than female, and is inversely proportional to class and education. Thus they would regard the official statistics as 'poor' data, yet data of relevance all the same (1981: 269).

CAUSES

Crime is viewed as determined; individual positivism reduces criminal or deviant behaviour to forces which reside within the individual. As Young comments,

> Individual choice and action within the social world is reduced to fixed, psychological, physiological and/or genetic propensities. Deviancy becomes an outcome of these 'essences', and has no meaning outside of an atomized psyche or bodily structure. (1975: 65)

It is the task of scientific experts to identify these causal factors, 'the necessity for the scientific analysis of the causal factors propelling the deviant allows the expert to speak ex cathedra, giving credence to the interpretations of the actor himself only as one of many factors under consideration' (Ibid: 65). Such a perspective conjures up, as Elizabeth Wilson remarks,

> ...a picture of white-coated experts who know more about the problem than the victims, in this case the women themselves. It is 'scientific', based on 'facts', free from the contamination of feelings and emotions that women bring to their testimony' (1983: 89).

And, as we have seen, many of the causes of domestic violence are presented by individual positivists as stemming from psychological defects that are located in the offender and also the victim. Further research, however, has indicated that fewer than 10 per cent of instances of family violence are attributable to personality traits, mental illness or psychopathology (Straus,

1980). And Mildred Pagelow (1984) has pointed out that given domestic violence is a social problem of immense proportions, it can not be explained as one of a few maladjusted individuals. Thus the main problem of this theory is that it 'seeks an exceptionalistic explanation of a universalistic problem' (Freeman, 1979: 137-8). Furthermore, on the presentation of the women victims, Gelles and Cornell (1985) have pointed out, that the personality characteristics allegedly identified, often appear directly opposite: some researchers have described women victims as unassertive, shy and reserved (Weitzman and Dreen, 1982), whereas, others have presented them as aggressive, masculine, frigid and masochistic (Ball, 1977; Snell et al, 1964). Feminists have constantly argued against such derogatory, and often misogynistic, stereotypes. Bograd has argued, 'not all abusive men evidence psychopathology and those who do reveal no consistent psychological patterns, while women of all sorts may become victims of their husband's abuse' (1989: 17). Feminist researchers have, moreover, shown that many of the personality characteristics found among samples of battered women are not pre-existing contributory factors but are the consequences of being subjected to violence (Ibid). And Elizabeth Wilson has suggested, with respect to the men, that,

> Far from being abnormal behaviour, the violence of men towards the women they live with should rather be seen as an extreme form of normality, an exaggeration of how society expects men to behave - as the authority figure in the family. The search for causation then becomes, in a sense, a wild-goose chase, because it is concerned with wider issues to do with the control of women by men, to do with power and inequality, and to do with how we perceive manhood. (1983: 95).

IMPACT

For individual positivists, the overall impact of crime, including domestic violence, on society is not seen as great, since it is viewed as a minority problem. On an individual level, however, domestic violence is generally considered to have a detrimental and long term effect on those involved. The rehabilitation of women and children is considered to be 'a long and complicated process' (Gayford, 1979: 503). Children were found to be frequently disturbed and, as previously indicated, domestic violence is presented as having the potential of being passed on from generation to generation,

> ...it is a sad fact that many of their children will take marital violence into the next generation. Cases have been seen where this condition has passed through three generations. (Ibid: 503).

Gayford also reported that suicide attempts amongst the women were not uncommon and, again revealing his sexist attitudes, described them as having difficulties finding new partners, 'at an age of 30 and with these handicaps (disturbed children) she cannot afford to be selective about her partners' (1975: 197).

METHODS

Individual positivism stresses the importance of scientific investigation often by conducting studies designed to compare criminals to non-criminals, known as case control studies. Overall there is an emphasis within positivism on empiricism and

the collection of 'hard' facts. In letting the 'facts' speak for themselves, we, therefore, frequently find in positivist work a lack of reflection and contextualization of research findings. But even if we were to accept such an approach, much of the research conducted in the area of domestic violence uses small, biased samples, such as clinical samples or those drawn from women's refuges. Unlike many conventional positivist studies, comparison and control groups have seldom been used; thus the results cannot be generalised to the population as a whole. Further, much of the work has relied on victim reports, very few researchers have examined the offender himself (Freeman, 1979). Faulk's (1974) small-scale study of men in prison is one of the rare exceptions to this. Subsequent research has, therefore, not surprisingly failed to support many of the hypotheses generated by this perspective (see Gelles and Cornell, 1985; Smith, 1989).

POLICY

> Sooner or later, society will have to replace its happy-go-lucky, unreasoning ways of dealing with offenders by rational, scientific methods, firmly founded on painstaking observation and empirically based theory' (Eysenck, 1964: 204).

Individual positivists in presenting the propensity to crime as located in the individual follow, as Taylor et al have put it, the logic of their own position and recommend the replacement of the jury system - an important element within classicism - with, 'a team of experts...to investigate the causes propelling the individual into crime, diagnosing him and prescribing an

appropriate therapeutic regime' (1973: 22). If criminals are determined then they cannot be held responsible for their actions. It, therefore, makes no sense to punish crime. Indeed as Young notes, '(for positivism) the punitive response, as advocated by classicist and conservative theorists, is not only inapplicable, it actually exacerbates the socialisation problems of the deviant.' (1981: 271). Thus in a situation of domestic violence therapy would be recommended for both the men and women involved; the emphasis is placed on rehabilitation. As Pizzey commented in her evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Violence in Marriage in 1974, 'I feel that the remedies lie in the hands of the medical profession and not in the court of law, because the men act instinctively, not rationally' (quoted in Freeman, 1979: 137).

Individual positivist arguments, as indicated by Lily et al's (1989) comment in the preceding section on positivism in general, are, however, dangerous in that by locating the causes within individuals they, therefore, imply that there is no need to question society and the existing social policies. Thus, in this country, it is perhaps no accident that these theories were predominant in the late 1960s and 70s for, as Elizabeth Wilson points out,

> After 1945 the expanding Welfare State and much new legislation represented in large part an attempt to improve the quality especially of working-class family life. It was widely believed for some years that the Welfare State and full employment had made poverty unavoidable; and families who remained in poverty therefore came to be seen as poor because of their own inadequacy. They became 'problem families'. In that context wife-beating became just part

of a general picture of slovenly behaviour associated with drunkenness, and squalor of the wife's own making, and it was quite customary to portray such wives as bad mothers, bad managers, slatternly and probably nagging and vituperative wives. Increasingly, all were encouraged to see the family as the one great source of happiness and fulfilment, and social workers and the Welfare State were at all costs to prevent family breakdown. (1983: 87).

We are today seeing a revival of interest in such theories, as demonstrated by the collection of articles on biological and psychological research included in the recent, Male Violence, (1994) edited by John Archer.

3.3 EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Darwinian evolutionary theory[12] has recently been used to explain domestic violence - this has been described as sociobiological or evolutionary psychological theory (see Burgess and Draper, 1989; Daly and Wilson, 1988; Wilson, 1989; Wilson and Daly, 1992; Daly and Wilson, 1994). Indeed it is notable that the 1989 article of Burgess and Draper is the only theoretical

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[12] As we have seen in discussing Lombroso the application of the basic tenets of evolutionary theory to criminal behaviour in general is not a new idea. Further, as Janet Sayers has pointed out in Biological Politics, evolutionary theory was frequently utilized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to justify sex-role specialisation - this is particularly evident in the work of social Darwinists such as Spencer (1873, 1884) and feminist essentialists (e.g. Blackwell, 1875; Gilman, 1898 and Addams, 1922). 'Nature', as was noted in our previous criticisms of traditional classicist thinkers, was at this time, commonly presented as having fitted the two sexes for their current social roles - women as child-rearers and therefore confined to the private sphere (i.e. the home) and men as workers in the public sphere.

contribution to Lloyd Ohlin and Michael Tonry's edited collection, Family Violence. Evolutionary theory suggests that human behaviour, like that of the rest of the animal kingdom, is the product of natural and sexual selection. As Daly and Wilson note,

> The contribution of Darwinism...resides in the recognition that selection (differential reproductive success or, more precisely, differential success in replicating genes) has been the arbiter of adaptation, with the result that our most basic motives and emotions, appetites, aversions and modes of information processing are interpretable as contributors to relative reproductive success and hence genetic posterity (sometimes called 'fitness') in the environment in which we evolved. (1994: 255)

Evolutionary theorists acknowledge, unlike the individual positivists discussed above, the non-random and widespread nature of domestic violence and, as such, argue that it must be viewed as having been adaptive in past environments. Indeed all violence is seen in this way: 'In the spirit of the classical examples of adaptions such as the vertebrate eye, the answer (to violence) must be apparent functional 'design'...violence has been shaped by a history of selection' (Ibid: 264). Men are presented as the main offenders and thus, have 'evolved the morphological, physiological and psychological means to be effective users of violence' (Ibid: 274). If violence was, as has been suggested, merely a pathology it would, from an evolutionist's perspective, quite simply have been selected out. For as Wilson and Daly point out,

To an evolutionist, pathologies are failures of anatomical, physiological and psychological mechanisms and processes, such that the compromised mechanisms and processes exhibit reduced effectiveness in achieving the adaptive functions for which they evolved. Pathologies may be divided into non-adaptive failures due to mishap or senescent decay, and failures due to subversion by biotic agents with antagonistic interests. Violence cannot be dismissed as either sort of pathology. (Ibid: 263).

In order to understand how domestic violence is an adaptive function, marriage is shown to be primarily a reproductive alliance and the arguments of Trivers' (1972) and Dawkins' (1976) with respect to parental investment and paternal certainty are evoked. Burgess and Draper have argued that parental investment, 'is central to our understanding of family violence' (1989: 72). A major threat to a man's fitness, it is argued, is the possibility that his 'mate' will become pregnant with another man's child, an event which will prove costly in terms of parental investment should he fail to detect what has happened and treat the child as his own, for this will prevent the passing on of his genes. Only women can have the certainty of parenthood, as Barash comments,

> The one commonality shared by Alaskan Eskimos, Australian aborigines, African Bushmen and Wall Street businessmen is their biological heritage; one aspect of that heritage is that males of virtually all animal species must have less confidence in their paternity than females have in their maternity. (1977: 300)

Males in species where parental investment is high and long-term are, therefore, seen as having been selected to be intolerant of cuckoldry. Thus, to avoid wasting parental investment on children that are not genetically related, men

insist on female chastity. This is presented as setting the stage for domestic violence to occur. As Burgess and Draper put it, 'in comparison to other pair-bonding mammals, humans seem to be 'borrowing trouble' by combining sexually exclusive partnerships with all the temptations of group life' (1989: 78). Men are likely to direct threats or actual physical violence at their rivals, their wives or both. As Daly and Wilson note, 'the use of a credible threat of violence...can...deter a wife from pursuing courses of action that are not in the man's interests' (1994: 269). Thus violence is related to male sexual proprietariness (see Wilson and Daly, 1992) and was clearly successful in the past in terms of monopolizing female reproductive capacity and increasing the possibility of correctly identifying offspring. Hence Wilson and Daly argue that whereas, 'the use of violence by men against wives is ubiquitous', there are only a few contexts in which it occurs: 'in response to a wife's sexual infidelity (or cues thereof), or a wife's unilateral decision to terminate the relationship (or cues thereof), as well as to 'discipline' a 'too independent' wife, and in response to other factors (perhaps his own infidelity or paranoia) that activate male sexual jealousy mechanisms' (1994: 269). They also suggest that this provides an explanation for why such practices as the,

> Veiling, chaperoning, purdah and the literal incarceration of women are common social institutions of patrilineal societies, and it is only women of reproductive age who are confined or chaperoned...Man's inventive imagination has produced countless designs for chastity belts...(And the occurrence of) genital mutilations designed to destroy the sexual interest of young women...(1992: 301-2).

Women, however, are presented as having evolved different psychologies since, 'if there is a corresponding threat to a woman's fitness, it is not that she will be analogously cuckolded, but rather that her mate will channel resources to other women and their children' (Wilson and Daly, 1992: 292). Thus men are concerned with sexual infidelity, women with the allocation of their mates' resources and attention.

Further, evidence of adaptation can be seen in other forms of violence against women, particularly rape, the 'obvious context of sexual conflict' (Daly and Wilson, 1994: 269). It is pointed out that,

> Perhaps the most costly threat to a woman's fitness throughout history was loss of the opportunity to choose who is likely to sire her offspring, thereby depriving her of the opportunity both to have her children sired by a man with desirable phenotypic qualities and to have her children benefit from the time, effort and resources of a father. Since these are substantial costs, the sexual psychology of women may be expected to manifest adapted design features reflecting the past costs and benefits of accepting or rejecting particular sexual partners. Undesired sexual encounters are resisted by women, and use of violence by men can be a very effective means of controlling the reluctant victim. The fitness costs of any single act of sexual intercourse have always been less for men than women, which suggests that the evolved sexual psychology of men is less likely to be discriminating regarding choice of partner for a single sexual opportunity than that of women. Another design feature of male sexual psychology which is relevant to the occurrence of rape is the apparent disregard of women's unwillingness as indicated by the use of coercion to achieve copulation. The ability of the male to remain sexually competent in such circumstances presumably reflects the past fitness benefits of pursuing and achieving copulation in the face of female resistance. (Ibid: 269-270).

Wilson and Daly, in line with the majority of evolutionary theorists (see Sayers, 1982), support their argument for the functional design for violence by reference to the adaptation of other species to cuckoldry, for example, swallows and dunnocks, 'a drab little bird found lurking in hedges of English gardens', (1992: 295), and note,

> The utility of using violence to protect, defend or promote fitness in past environments can be discerned by an analysis of the complex functionality of morphology and psychology, as illustrated by stag's antlers which serve no other function than competition amongst rivals for access to females, the male scorpionfly's 'rape' clasper used solely to restrain uncooperative females and the mitigated fear of the male three-spined stickleback in defence of his young. (1994: 268).

There have been strong criticisms of the application of evolutionary theory to social behaviour (see Sayers, 1982; Rose et al, 1990). As a theoretical explanation of domestic violence, it is just a short step away from 'blaming the victim': the implication of evolutionary theory is that if women had not been unfaithful and cuckolded their husbands into accepting and rearing children that were not theirs in the past, then domestic violence would not have evolved as an adaptive function to prevent this from occurring in future generations. Moreover, the simple reductionism of evolutionary theory in general presents a very depressing picture of human nature, as Rose et al point out,

> By arguing that each aspect of the human behavioural repertoire is specifically adaptive, or at least was so in the past, sociobiology sets the stage for legitimation of things as they are. We are the products of eons of natural selection. Dare we, in our hubris, try to go against the

> social arrangements that nature in its wisdom has built into us? There is a reason why we are entrepreneurial, xenophobic, territorial. (1990: 264)

In this context, domestic violence is an inevitable part of human existence, as an 'evolved adaptation' there is little that can be done about. Men cannot help their violence! However, as Sayers (1982) and Rose (1990) both note, people are constantly changing and constructing their own destiny. Further as Rose *et al* comment,

> Many of the mental objects that are said by sociobiologists to be units undergoing evolution are the abstract creations of particular cultures and times...Is 'violence' real or is it a construct with no one-to-one correspondence with physical acts? What do we mean, for example, by 'verbal violence' or a 'violent exception'?...Sociobiologists commit the classical error of reification by taking concepts that have been created as a way of ordering, understanding and talking about human social experience and endowing these with a life of their own, able to act on the world and be acted upon. (*Ibid*: 248-9).

Sayers, in addition, points out that evolutionists, when using examples from other species to support their thesis, rely on circular reasoning:

> It uses terms derived from present human society to characterize animal behaviour and then uses this characterization to justify, in biological terms, the human society from which that characterization was derived in the first place. (Thus) Trivers and Dawkins describe sexual behaviour among animals in terms of 'philandry', 'coyness', and 'dishonesty'; that is, in terms derived from our own particular human society and from the sexual double standard that obtains in it. They then use this description of animal behaviour in order to attempt to legitimate in biological terms the social order and its sexual double standard, from which this description was itself derived. (1982: 58).

3.4 THE 'FAMILY VIOLENCE' APPROACH:

The Development of Multi-Factorial Positivism

The 'family violence' approach is associated with Murray Straus of the Family Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire and his colleagues, most notably Richard Gelles and Suzanne Steinmetz. The family violence researchers are extraordinarily prolific having published over the last two decades numerous books, articles and research reports on this subject (see, for example, Straus, 1973; Steinmetz and Straus, 1974; Straus et al, 1980; Gelles, 1987; Hotling et al, 1988; Straus and Gelles, 1990). As Schwartz and DeKeseredy have noted, their work receives widespread attention in North America:

> Within much of the popular press or mainstream sociological press...it has become commonplace to cite Straus and Gelles as a primary authority. North American sociology textbooks aimed at general education courses such as Introduction to Sociology or Social Problems do not always discuss violence in the family. When they do, however, the norm is to base their discussion heavily or essentially on Straus and Gelles...(1993: 249).

Family violence researchers are, as their name implies, interested in the myriad forms of violence that feature in the family. Violence between husbands and wives - generally called 'spousal violence' - is seen as part of a pattern of violence occurring amongst all familial members. Family violence research is an attempt to look at the whole picture of family violence. As Gelles and Cornell have commented, 'while it is important to understand the nature and causes of...wife abuse, concentrating on just one form of violence or abuse may obscure

the entire picture and hinder a complete understanding of the causes and consequences of abuse' (1985: 11). And to emphasize this further they cite the following case study, which is also suggestive of the importance given to the role of the expert within positivist thought,

> (An) example of the problems produced by narrowly focusing on just one type of abuse is illustrated by the experience of a hospital-based child abuse diagnostic team. The team was discussing the case of a 6-month-old child who had received a fractured skull. After reviewing the medical reports and results of interviews with both parents, it was concluded that a 5-year-old sibling had caused the damage by striking the infant. All in the room breathed a sigh of relief. Now, they concluded, they would not have to file a child abuse report. Just as they were about to break up, satisfied with the consensus they had arrived at, a physician commented, 'But how do you suppose the 5-year-old learned to be violent?' Back they went to the table for a two-hour discussion about whether or not the violence of a 5-year-old was cause for a child abuse report.
>
> This...dramatically illustrates that one form of family violence may be closely connected to other acts of violence in the home...one can only understand, explain, treat and prevent family violence by understanding the operation and function of the entire system. (Ibid: 11-12).

The family, as a whole, is viewed as a violent-prone institution and family violence, as previously noted, is considered to be widespread. Indeed Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1976) suggested that violence in the family is more common than love. The family it is argued,

> ...with the exception of the military in times of war and the police, is society's most violent institution. The likelihood of being a victim at the hands of a stranger or on the streets is measured in terms of risk per 100,000, but the risk of family violence is measured in terms of a rate per 100 individuals. (Gelles, 1993: 35).

In terms of causation, family violence, as indicated by the title of this section, is presented as multi-factorial, each variable or factor is considered to provide only a partial explanation to the problem. However, unlike individual positivism, its emphasis is not on factors that reside within the individual, although it is acknowledged these may be relevant, but those arising from social institutions, that is, the family, and the social structure. Indeed the family violence approach is characterised by such a wide explanatory framework that its work is frequently contradictory. This, as Schwartz and DeKeseredy note, 'makes them difficult targets to attack, since they have at one time or another made themselves many of the arguments of their opponents' (1993: 250).

In Straus's work three main theoretical strands have been identified (Okun, 1986). The first involves an analysis of the various cultural and structural factors that contribute to family violence. Norms of violence in the culture, the various forms of social stress (for example, unemployment, financial insecurity and social isolation), sexism and features of the individualistic model (for example, psychopathology, alcohol use and the inter-generational transmission of violence) are all seen to have some relevance (Straus, 1976; Gelles and Straus, 1979; Straus and Hotling, 1979; Straus et al, 1980). Straus et al (1980) developed a profile of wife-beating from an analysis of the various factors: twenty characteristics were found to be relevant, some of which clearly imply a degree of victim-precipitation:

1. the husband employed part-time or unemployed;
2. family income under $6,000;
3. the husband a manual worker (if employed);
4. both husband and wife very worried about economic security;
5. the wife dissatisfied with the family's standard of living;
6. two or more children;
7. frequent disagreements over children;
8. husband and wife having grown up in families where the father hit the mother;
9. couples married less than ten years;
10. the husband and wife both less than 30 years of age;
11. couples who are members of a non-White racial group;
12. above-average marital conflict;
13. very high levels of family and individual stress;
14. the wife or husband dominating family decisions;
15. a husband verbally aggressive to his wife;
16. a wife verbally aggressive to her husband;
17. both getting drunk frequently, but are not alcoholics;
18. couples who lived in a neighbourhood less than two years;
19. couples who do not participate in organised religion;
20. the wife a full-time housewife.

If none of these factors was present, there was no incidence of violence against the wife, whilst more than twelve, indicated a greater than six in ten possibility of wife-beating in the previous year (see Gelles and Cornell, 1985). The negative consequences of false labelling through the use of such a profile were later acknowledged: 'three in ten families with all the wife abuse characteristics do not have wife abuse' (Ibid: 108). However, in terms of its distribution within the social structure, violence remains consistently correlated in the family violence literature with those in the younger age groups (18 to 30 years), low socio-economic status and black or Hispanic families for it is here that social stress is perceived to be greatest (Gelles and Straus, 1988; Straus and Smith, 1990; Hampton, Gelles and Harrop, 1989; Gelles, 1993).

The second strand is characterised by a General Systems Theory (Straus, 1973). The family is viewed as changeable and adaptive, rather than as a stable social system and violence in this context is perceived as a system product or out-put, rather than an individual pathology. This theory allows all the major factors influencing family violence, either positively or negatively, to be incorporated, as well as the contribution of interventional sources. Where 'positive feedback' processes - such as those already identified- exist there will be an upward spiral of violence, 'negative feedback' will maintain, dampen or reduce the level of violence. Negative feedback, for example, occurs when the violence is not consistent with the goals of the family members involved and the system, there is a low community tolerance for violence, the act of violence comes to public attention and the close presence of control agencies. This perspective was later further elaborated by Giles-Sims (1983).

The third strand in Straus' (1977) work focuses on women victims. The subordinate position of women in the sexist structure of the family and society is considered to create the conditions for wife-beating. Husbands, it is argued, use violence against their wives in order to maintain their dominant positions in the household. Further, the sexist division of labour in the household, in which women are primarily responsible for child care, and the economic system, which discriminates against women in the workplace, is seen to result in women being dependent on men; thus increasing their vulnerability to violence and entrapping them in violent relationships. Other factors

cited include the affects of gender socialisation and the male orientation of the criminal justice system. In this strand Straus' position seems in line with feminist thought. However, as several commentators have pointed out (Okum, 1986; Bograd 1988), the family violence approach -unlike feminist work- views the subordinate position of women as simply <u>one</u> of many contributory factors and, at other times, Straus is drawn into direct conflict with feminists, and also his own theories, in interpreting his research as showing wife-on-husband violence is as common as husband-on-wife (Straus <u>et al</u>, 1980; Straus and Gelles, 1988).

In an attempt to answer the question 'how violent are American families?' Straus and his colleagues conducted two national surveys in 1975 and 1985 respectively (Straus <u>et al</u>, 1980; Straus and Gelles, 1986; Straus and Gelles, 1988). In order to measure the violence what is known as the Conflict Tactics Scale was used. This is a quantitative measure consisting of between nineteen and twenty-one items and scores three ways of resolving inter-personal conflict in families: reasoning, verbal aggression and physical violence[13]. Respondents were asked to think of situations in the past year when they had had a disagreement or were angry with a specified family member and how often they had engaged in each of the acts included in the Conflict Tactics Scale. The theoretical basis for this scale is derived from conflict theorists such as Simmel, Coser and Dahrendorf: family

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[13] The Conflict Tactics Scale is currently being used in Britain to research domestic violence by Kevin Browne of Birmingham University (Personal Communication).

violence researchers see the family as a social group in conflict (Straus, 1979; Gelles, 1993). The Conflict Tactics Scale has been adopted by many researchers who have replicated their findings (see Straus and Gelles, 1988). Kirsti Yllo describes the Conflict Tactics Scale as dominating the area of domestic violence, 'to an extent rarely matched by other scales in other fields' (1993: 52). The 1985 Family Violence survey consisted of a sample of just over six thousand households, selected by 'random digit' dialling; the interviews were conducted by telephone. It is these surveys that have resulted in the highly contentious finding that men are as much at risk of violence from their wives, as women are from their husbands. Indeed the 1985 survey showed men to be slightly more likely to be the victims than women: 12.1 per cent as compared to 11.3 per cent (Straus and Gelles, 1986). On the basis of the 1975 results Steinmetz (1977-8) concluded that there was a 'battered husband syndrome' which had not previously been acknowledged. This has had serious policy implications - it has been used against battered women in court cases, cited by men's rights groups lobbying for custody and child support, and to argue against funding for women's refuges (Pagelow, 1984; Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Brush, 1993).

Straus' work, and that of the family violence researchers generally, has been subjected to much criticism on theoretical and, particularly, methodological levels. Theoretically, it has been argued that the family violence position fails to identify the <u>precise</u> relationship between the violence and the various factors seen as contributory (Freeman, 1979; Smith, 1989).

Multifactorial research notoriously provides a list of correlated factors but is unable to put them into causal sequence. It frequently, for example, confuses factors which have a genuine causal relationship with those which correlate because they have the same cause or are merely coincidental. To this extent such studies should be seen as exploratory rather than explanatory (see Sutherland and Cressey, 1966). Furthermore, some of the factors are well nigh tautological, for example, 'above-average marital conflict', 'husband or wife verbally aggressive'. And where explanatory theory is attempted all we have is a mish mash of factors brought together into a 'system' without any prioritization of causes. Straus' General System Theory has also been regarded as too complex and given to abstraction to be of much practical value. Okun (1986) comments that it is difficult to include all the major variables affecting a system product, due to the multitude of factors involved and their myriad relationships. For reasons of comprehensibility and convenience Straus is seen as falling-back on a continued partial approach. Dobash et al, have in addition, questioned from a theoretical perspective Straus et al's belief that women are as violent as men in marital relationships:

> Those who claim that wives and husbands are equally violent have offered no conceptual framework for understanding why women and men should think and act alike. Indeed, the claim that violence is gender-neutral cannot easily be reconciled with other coincident claims. For example, many family violence researchers who propose sexual symmetry in violence attribute the inculcation and legitimation of violence to socializing processes and cultural institutions, but then overlook the fact that these processes and institutions define and treat females and males differently. If sexually differentiated socialization and entitlements play a causal

> role in violence, how can we understand the alleged equivalence of women's and men's inclinations and actions? (1992: 83).

Methodologically, as Schwartz and DeKeseredy have put it, with the proclamation of the 'battered husband syndrome', Steinmetz 'was immediately attacked for having invented instead the 'battered data syndrome' (1993: 250). The conflict between the family violence researchers and feminists over this finding has been well documented (see, for example, Saunders, 1988; Kelly, 1988a; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991; Dobash et al, 1992; Yllo, 1993; Kurz, 1993). The Conflict Tactics Scale has been criticised for not distinguishing between offensive and defensive acts, as research has shown that when women use violence it is largely in self-defence; between the different forms of violence, the intensity of the violence and the nature and extent of the injuries inflicted (Okun, 1986; Saunders, 1988; Kelly, 1988a; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991; Dobash et al, 1992; Walklate, 1992a and 1992b; Yllo, 1993; Kurz, 1993). Further, as Yllo (1993) points out, it is not explained why violence is conceptualized as a conflict tactic. Moreover, the use of self-report studies has long been regarded as a problematic method in social science research (Currie, 1985; Jupp, 1989; Dobash et al, 1992). The results may well be due to the selective reporting of respondents, rather than being a true indication of what is really going on. In particular, Straus et al do not take account of self-reporting differences between men and women; it has been suggested that men are more likely to under-report their carrying-out of violent acts than women (Kurz, 1993). Their

results are clearly in opposition to feminist analyses, what is known from the, 'real-world experiences of police, judges who issue restraining orders, emergency rooms and shelters' (Yllo, 1993: 52) and, 'men's virtual monopoly on the use of violence in other social contexts' (Dobash et al, 1992: 72). It is because of this that this present study involves a comparison of women's and men's experiences of violence from their partners in order to test the sexual symmetry hypothesis of the family violence researchers (see Chapter Ten).

Finally, as a result of the attention given to the arguments of Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, many feminists have expressed disquiet that this theoretical approach and its research has resulted in policy makers adopting terms such as 'family violence', 'spouse abuse', 'domestic violence' which mask the gendered nature of such experiences (Kelly, 1988a; Walklate, 1992a and b; Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

CHAPTER 4

FEMINISM

4.1 A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Women's Resistance and Action in First and Second Wave Feminism

As Lorna Smith notes 'domestic violence is by no means a new phenomenon' (1989: 3): there is plenty of documentary evidence which indicates that women have always suffered violence from their husbands or partners (see Martin, 1976; Tomes, 1978; Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Freeman, 1979; Gordon, 1988; Taves, 1989; Clark, 1992; Doggett, 1992). On an individual level, women of all classes have throughout the centuries developed, where possible, strategies of resistance to counter this particular form of abuse. Ann Clark (1992), for example, shows how battered women have constantly tried to utilize the law to prosecute their husbands whether they legally had the right to do so or not[1]:

> ...since the early eighteenth century, women brought their husbands before magistrates and charged them with assault. By the 1780s and 90s, at least one woman a week appeared before the Middlesex Justices to prosecute her husband (or common-law spouse) for assault. (1992: 192).

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[1] In 1891 it became illegal following the R v Jackson ruling for a husband to beat or imprison his wife. Prior to this a husband had in common law the right to confine and exercise reasonable chastisement of his wife; however, how far this 'right' extended is unclear (see Clark, 1992; Doggett, 1992).

And, in the upper classes, Maeve Doggett relates the story of Caroline Norton, a nineteenth century 'society beauty', the grand-daughter of Richard Sheridan and a writer herself, who suffered physical violence from her husband:

> When she left him he accused the prime minister, Lord Melbourne, of being her lover and sued him for criminal conversation. He exercised his legal rights to deny her access to her children and to deprive her of the money she earned through her writing. (1992: 87)[1].

In response, although no feminist (she spurned the 'wild and stupid theories advanced by a few women of "equal rights" and "equal intelligence"' (1854, reprinted, 1982: 165)), Norton documented her experiences in 'lengthy publications' and 'her image of husband and wife as creatures locked in deadly combat featured in an influential 1854 Letter to the Queen on Lord Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill' (Doggett, 1992: 87).

In the United States, Linda Gordon's study of social work case records in Boston, for the period 1880 to 1960, further shows how many of the 'family violence victims...did not stop strategising and agitating to make a better existence for themselves and their

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[1] At this time, the property a woman owned on marriage or acquired afterwards became the property of her husband: 'at common law...a woman effectively had nothing during marriage' (Doggett, 1992: 38). And as Brophy and Smart (1981) note until the middle of the nineteenth century it was only conceivable to refer to father's rights, never the mother's rights, with respect to legitimate children. Indeed Caroline Norton's husband gave their children to his mistress to look after (Smart, 1989).

children' (1988: vi), despite little agency or legal assistance. These strategies included reporting the violence and seeking help from social work agencies, relatives, neighbours and friends; attempting to get the man arrested; obtaining work to support the family and relieve economic hardship and even physically fighting back: women's violence, 'was a matter of holding their own and/ or hurting a hated partner they were not free to leave' (Ibid: 275). And, as Gordon puts it, 'in the process of protecting themselves battered women helped to formulate and promulgate the view that women have the right not to be beaten' (Ibid: 252).

However, despite women's individual efforts to counter men's violence, the construction of domestic violence as a social problem has 'a very uneven history' (Smith, 1989: 3). As various commentators have pointed out (Freeman, 1979; Brokowski et al, 1983; Wilson, 1983), its recognition and definition as a social problem has only occurred at times when there is an active feminist movement, enabling the collective organisation against its occurrence. Thus, 'wife-beating' first emerged in this country as a concern of the women's suffrage movement in the mid-nineteenth Century[3] and, as Doggett comments, for some of these

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[3] This is not to imply that there had not been earlier forms of collective opposition to domestic violence, however, these had taken place more on the level of the community. For example, violence against wives certainly met with disapproval amongst Puritans who saw it as disruptive of family life (Taves, 1989) and it has been pointed out that 'charivaris', a public shaming ritual, had, at times, been used against wife-beaters (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Doggett, 1992).

first wave feminists wife-beating was a central issue[4],

> Chief among these were Frances Power Cobbe, Matilda Blake and Mabel Sharman Crawford. All of these women wrote articles dealing specifically with wife-abuse. In addition, there were numerous feminists writers who commented on wife-beating in the context of general surveys of the laws relating to women. (1992: 126)[5].

Frances Power Cobbe, who is described by Elizabeth Wilson as an 'outstanding British feminist and campaigner for women's rights' (1983: 86), and her colleagues highlighted, as have feminists in the contemporary period, the extent and severity of wife abuse. In her influential article, 'Wife-Torture in England', Cobbe uses the phrase 'wife torture' to indicate that without intervention, 'Wife-<u>beating</u> in process of time, and in numberless cases, advances to Wife-<u>torture</u>, and the Wife-torture usually ends in Wife-maiming, Wife-blinding, or Wife-murder' (1878, rpr. 1992: 49, original emphasis), and cites numerous reports of particularly horrific cases, for example:

> James Mills cut his wife's throat as she lay in bed. He was quite sober at the time. On a previous occasion he had nearly torn away her left breast.
>
> J. Coleman returned home early in the morning, and, finding his wife asleep, took up a heavy piece of wood and struck

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[4] In the United States, many nineteenth century feminists campaigned against wife-beating through the temperance movement (Gordon, 1988).

[5] John Stuart Mill also proved to be an important ally, in terms of his writing and parliamentary influence. In 'The Subjection of Women' he protested that, 'the vilest malefactor has some wretched woman tied to him, against whom he can commit any atrocity except killing her, and, if tolerably cautious, can do that without much danger of the legal penalty' (1869, rpr. 1992: 151).

her on the head and arm bruising her arm. On a previous occasion he fractured her ribs.

James Lawrence, who had been frequently bound over to keep the peace and who had been supported by his wife's industry for years, struck her on the face with a poker, leaving traces of the most dreadful kind when she appeared in court.

Fredrick Knight jumped on the face of his wife (who had only been confined a month) with a pair of boots studded with hobnails. (Ibid: 50).

Further, Cobbe pointed out that many cases go unreported, 'there are, for every one of these published horrors, at least three or four which never are reported at all, and where the poor victim dies quietly of her injuries like a wounded animal, without seeking the mockery of redress offered her by the law' (Ibid: 49-50, original emphasis). Nineteenth century feminists also questioned the image of the battered woman as 'nagging' and 'provocative', which was frequently presented to the courts:

> I have no doubt that every husband who comes home with empty pockets and from whom his wife needs to beg repeatedly for money to feed herself and her children, considers that she 'nags' him. I have no doubt that when a wife reproaches such a husband with squandering his wages in the public-house, or on some wretched rival, while she and her children are starving, he accuses her to all his friends of intolerable 'nagging'. (Cobbe, 1878; quoted in Doggett, 1992: 129).

Indeed their main concern was to emphasise the inadequacy of the law in its response to cases of wife-beating. Following increased publicity of the problem of domestic violence, particularly with respect to the so-called 'kicking district' of Liverpool, stiffer penalties were introduced in 1853 in the form of 'An Act for the Better Prevention and Punishment of Aggravated

Assaults upon Women and Children'[6], and the merits of flogging were widely debated in Parliament (Freeman, 1979; Doggett, 1992). However, maximum penalties were rarely enforced: Matilda Blake (1892), for example, pointed out that the killing of a wife was more likely to result in a manslaughter rather than a murder charge; this is still an issue for feminist campaigners today.

Moreover, as Doggett (1992) documents, nineteenth century feminists took very seriously the difficulties of punishing a wife-beater effectively without making his wife and children suffer; thus Mabel Sharman Crawford argued that both fines and prison sentences affected the woman as much as her violent husband:

> (the one) taxed the means required for the support of (her) family, (the other) entailed on her the penalty of hard labour to keep herself and her children from starvation. (1893: 292,293, 299).

Crawford also pointed out that women were prevented from reporting their husbands due to fear of reprisals and she referred to cases of husbands who had killed their wives after previously being given prison sentences for assaulting them. Likewise, Frances Power Cobbe did not see tougher penalties as a solution; on the subject of flogging, she commented, 'after they had undergone such chastisement, however well merited, the ruffians would inevitably return more brutalised and infuriated

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[6] This Act had been proposed by Fitzroy, Member of Parliament for Lewes, who requested that women be awarded the same protection as 'poodle dogs and donkeys' (quoted in Freeman, 1979: 129).

than ever; and again have their wives at their mercy' (1894: 220-1). Cobbe's answer to the dilemma over what to do to assist women, was to offer them an exit from their violent marriages[7] and she fronted a campaign for the introduction of separation orders. With the assistance of Alfred Hill, a Birmingham magistrate, she drafted a Bill 'for the Protection of Wives whose Husbands have been convicted of assaults upon them'. And her proposals became part of the Matrimonial Causes Act which was passed in 1878. This Act gave magistrates and judges the power to grant a separation order to a wife whose husband had been convicted of aggravated assault upon her, 'if satisfied that the future safety of the (wife) was in peril'. That proviso, which Cobbe did not support, was removed in 1895. The Act also allowed the woman to be awarded custody of any children under the age of ten years and maintenance.

However, Cobbe did not believe that the achievement of this Act would resolve the problem of wife-beating: 'the most that could be hoped for was that the sufferings of its victims would be partially alleviated' (Doggett, 1992: 131). For Cobbe, although she cited the orthodox explanations for wife-beating put forward

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[7] As Doggett points out, the 1857 reform of the divorce law had not provided for this,

> An abused wife could not get a divorce unless, first, her husband was also an adulterer and, secondly, she could afford the considerable expense. She could get a judicial separation on grounds of cruelty but, again, this was expensive. She could get a protection order from the magistrates if her husband had deserted her. If it was she who had left then she was ineligible, even if she had been driven out by ill-treatment. (1992: 130).

at the time (alcohol, prostitution, degradation of working class life etc.), the major cause resided in the unequal status of women, in particular that of wives. Like many other nineteenth century feminists, she argued that change would not occur whilst,

> ...the position of a woman before the law as wife, mother and citizen, remains so much below that of a man as husband, father and citizen, that it is a matter of course that she must be regarded by him as inferior. (1878, quoted Ibid: 132).

They believed in the educational value of being granted formal equality with men. Thus it was hoped that if husbands saw their wives being granted equality by the state, they would be less inclined to regard them as property and this would reduce women's susceptibility to abuse and also encourage women's resistance.

However, in the period after the First World War up until 1970 domestic violence largely faded from the social problems agenda and, as indicated above, this has been attributed to the absence of a strong women's movement during this period (Freeman, 1979; Brokowski et al, 1983; Wilson, 1983). As we have seen, feminism is extremely influential in defining male violence against women as a major social problem. Thus, Julie Blackman remarks, it is feminism that provides, 'the impetus and the philosophical base for the naming of these injustices that accrue disproportionately to women and children within sexist societies' and 'as feminist activists moved the problem from the "taboo" to the "talked about", new notions of justice were advocated, and the inalienable rights of women and children were emphasized' (1989:

10). And, as Maynard points out,

> It should not be imagined...that in the intervening years (between first and second wave feminism) the abuse of women disappeared or abated. Research has shown that it is not so much the incidence of violence which has changed during the last century, as its perceived significance and visibility. (1993: 111).

From 1970 onwards the women's liberation movement grew rapidly and feminists began to examine and speak of their experiences of violence and to provide support for other women who had been subject to abuse by men (Weir 1977; Wilson, 1983; Maynard, 1993). It was out of this that the refuge movement began: 'women's liberation consciousness raising groups.. decided it was time to move from thought to action' (Dobash and Dobash, 1992: 25). In this country the first refuge for battered women opened at Chiswick in 1971 - Chiswick Women's Aid. As Dobash and Dobash comment,

> It emerged in a rather unexpected manner, beginning with a campaign to protest against the elimination of free school milk and ending with a refuge for battered women...Five hundred women and children and one cow marched through an English town in support of their claim. The cow aptly served as a symbol of their cause and the amiable spectacle brought considerable attention.
>
> While not a direct success, the march did bring solidarity among the women and initiated a successful attempt to set up a community meeting place for local women. It was here they began to tell one another horrific stories of the violence they had received at the hands of their male partners. Here that the doors were first opened for them to find refuge. Here, that violence against women began to be defined as a problem of epic proportions. (Ibid: 25-6).

One of the women who helped to found Chiswick, Erin Pizzey, emerged as the refuge's spokeswoman; she generated national and international publicity for battered women through gaining widespread coverage on television, radio and in newspapers (see Martin, 1976). Pizzey's book, Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear (1974), which details the experiences of battered women, also had a considerable impact. However, as noted in the previous chapter, Pizzey caused considerable outrage amongst her early supporters by arguing that the violence was the result of individual pathologies residing within the man and also the woman victim.

Following the opening of Chiswick refuge, women's rights groups began to found a network of refuges; some were allocated local authority housing, others squatted unoccupied property. And the National Women's Aid Federation[1] was established in 1974 as a co-ordinating body. As Brokowski et al note, women 'flocked' to the refuges, 'indicating something of an unmet need' (1983: 4). In the United States, the first refuges are believed to be Women's Advocates in Minnesota and Transition House in Boston, opened in 1973 and 1974, respectively; these are described by Schechter as, 'real and symbolic victories in the struggle of women to free themselves from male violence and domination' (1982: 62), although, in general, public recognition of the

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[1] Chiswick Women's Aid split from the National Women's Aid Federation (NWAF) at their inaugural meeting: according to Dobash and Dobash the majority of Women's Aid groups wished, 'to form a democratic, egalitarian organisation (NWAF) and Chiswick, in the person of Erin Pizzey, wish(ed) to maintain central control, power, publicity and exclusive access to funds donated by the public' (1992: 33).

'battered woman's movement' came later in the States, than Britain (see Pagelow, 1984; Dobash and Dobash, 1992). For Dobash and Dobash, 'refuges vividly illustrate women's continued dependence in marriage and economic disadvantage whereby they must rely on a man for the basic necessity of accommodation' (1992: 60). In this country, by the mid-1970s, domestic violence had become a much more visible social problem and in response to this, the House of Commons Select Committee on Violence in Marriage was established to investigate it further. Since this time refuges and support groups have been set up in many countries and feminists continue to campaign on the issue, for example, to raise public and agency awareness and to challenge police and legal practice. Furthermore, as we shall see, male violence is an important topic for feminist theory, particularly that of radical feminism, which actively seeks to ground itself in women's experiences.

4.2 CONTEMPORARY FEMINIST SOCIAL THEORY

Turning to contemporary feminist social theory, firstly it should be noted that amongst second wave feminists there has been considerable discussion (Evans, 1977; Oakley, 1981; Bouchier, 1978 and 1983; Michell and Oakley, 1986; hooks, 1984; Kourany et al, 1993) over the meaning of 'feminism' and whether any unity can be assumed between what Bryson describes as the 'maze' of

theories and perspectives which exist within feminism (1992: 4)[9], some of which I have already touched upon. Indeed, instead of 'feminism', it has been suggested we should be speaking of 'feminisms' (Maynard, 1989; Humm, 1992).

However, on a more general level, feminism as a movement may be identified as, 'any form of opposition to any form of social, political or economic discrimination which women suffer because of their sex' (Bouchier, 1983: 2). For as Michelle Barrett has pointed out,

> ...however, you choose to define feminism, it is impossible not to centre its political project on some idea of a better position for women in the future. Feminism is very hard to conceive without the experiential dimensions of women's sense of oppression and without a vision of change. (1988: v).

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[9] This debate has also been considered in criminology (Heidensohn, 1994); indeed Allison Morris and Loraine Gelsthorpe have repeatedly put forward the view (see Morris, 1987; Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1988; Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990) that a 'feminist criminology' cannot exist because neither criminology nor feminism presents a unified set of principles and practices:

> Criminology, like feminism, encompasses disparate and sometimes conflicting perspectives. The history of criminology well reflects these. In contrast, the tensions and conflicts within feminism are seen as indicative of an inchoate, unrigorous and 'indisciplined' discipline. There is no one specific feminism just as there is no one specific criminology. (1990: 2).

Thus Gelsthorpe and Morris believe the phrase 'feminist perspectives in criminology' more accurately describes the body of feminist work that has contributed to the subject.

With respect to feminist social theory, this has been described as that which, 'addresses the broad question of how and why women come to be subordinated, and offers analyses of the social and cultural processes through which that subordination is perpetuated' (Jackson, 1993: 3). And for many feminists, particularly radical feminists, a key concept for exploring the principles and structures which underpin women's subordination is that of patriarchy. As, previously noted in discussing classicism, patriarchy was originally used in its literal sense to mean 'rule by fathers' to justify the absolute authority of monarchs in pre-capitalist society. In contemporary feminism the concept of 'patriarchy' has been, 're-discovered... as a 'struggle concept', because the movement needed a term by which the totality of oppressive and exploitative relations which affect women, could be expressed, as well as their systematic character' (Mies, 1986: 37). And patriarchy is usually taken 'to refer to the systematic organisation of male supremacy and female subordination' (Stacey, 1993: 53)[10].

This section will provide an overview of the three main strands of feminist social theory, liberal feminism, socialist feminism and radical feminism. Radical feminism, as it offers the most detailed analysis of the function of male violence in terms of

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[10] It should be pointed out, however, that patriarchy has not been utilized in either political (see Pateman, 1988) or feminist theory in a simple or unified manner (Walby, 1990; Stacey, 1993; Heidensohn, 1994). And there has been debate, particularly amongst socialist feminists, over the usefulness of the term (Barrett, 1980; Rowbotham, 1982; Wilson and Weir, 1986).

women's oppression, will then be examined in detail in terms of those questions which, as it has been argued, an adequate theory of domestic violence should be able to answer.

4.2.1 Liberal Feminism

In this country the classic debates within contemporary feminist theory have typically been between radical and socialist feminism, whereas in the United States they have been between radical and liberal feminism (Walby, 1990; Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

Liberal feminism, as previously indicated, is an extension of the liberal project of the Enlightenment to include women, involving the claim that as women are rational beings like men they should have the same legal and political rights. Liberal feminists have, therefore, campaigned for the last three centuries for women's rights to enfranchisement, education, employment and property (see Sachs and Hoff Wilson, 1978; Naffine 1990). And, as we have seen above, in the nineteenth century many feminists were also actively involved in campaigning against wife beating. Liberal feminism, unlike socialist and radical feminism, does not question or analyse the existing social structure; indeed it has been 'termed 'bourgeois feminism' because its goal is to obtain sexual equality within the economic and political framework of capitalism' (Gregory, 1986: 65).

Many of the problems inherent in liberal theory are dealt with in Chapter Two, but let us recapitulate on one of the major difficulties. Liberalism suffers from what has been termed the 'classicist contradiction' (Young, 1981: 264), the contradiction between formal and substantive equality. As Bryson points out, the liberal feminist,

> ...demand for equality raises the question of 'equality with whom?' Here liberal feminists are often accused of reflecting only the concerns of middle-class white women who are privileged in every way other than their sex, and of ignoring the inequalities amongst men and the realities of class and race oppression. The liberal approach is also said to accept the necessity of hierarchical competitive society in which most men and women can only be losers; such a view is decisively rejected by radical and marxist feminists. (1992: 168).

Liberal feminism in its emphasis on the public sphere has also historically overlooked the inequalities that exist between men and women in the private sphere. Thus, the argument of Frances Power Cobbe and her colleagues in the last century, that if women had formal equality - that is, if wives were granted the same political and legal rights as their husbands - then this would result in a change in social attitude and the transformation of marriage from a relationship of dominance and subordination into one of equality and intimate friendship, is described by Doggett as 'overly optimistic', for,

> It is not enough for women to possess the same formal, legal rights as men: they also needed the same opportunity to exercise them. In particular, women needed <u>actual</u> economic power if their social status was to improve. However, very few (nineteenth century) feminists challenged the traditional division of labour between the sexes. They accepted that housekeeping and child-rearing were naturally

> and exclusively women's work and, in doing so, they consigned the vast majority of married women to continued financial dependence on their husbands. Such women could not compete with men in the outside world on equal terms, particularly if they had children. (1992: 140, original emphasis).

As Bryson comments, 'the liberal idea of equality and of 'sex blind' legislation...ignores biological differences and the social realities of a gendered society' (1992: 167). Furthermore, Andrea Jaggar (1983) has questioned the liberal conception of human nature: she considers it to be 'androcentric' in its emphasis on rational, independent, competitive and autonomous human beings. It ignores human interdependence, especially the long dependence of the young, the importance of co-operation and mutual support with others; qualities 'that are an essential basis for human society, and that have been historically central to women's lives' (Bryson, 1992: 169). And finally, in terms of the political campaigns of liberal feminism, Jeanne Gregory forcefully highlights the dangers of arguing for equal rights in a capitalist society:

> Gains secured under the equal rights banner are inherently fragile as individuals or groups with competing rights claim equal legitimacy. A woman's right to choose an abortion is challenged in terms of the rights of the unborn foetus. Fathers compete with mothers for an extension of rights in relation to their children. Such divisions cannot be resolved within the framework of competitive individualism that capitalism breeds. (1986: 65).

4.2.2 Socialist Feminism

There are many marxist and non- marxist socialist positions to be found under the heading of 'socialist feminism'. Socialist feminism was particularly prominent in the early 1970s. At this time, as Lynne Segal has noted, 'radical socialist politics of some sort were integral to a feminist outlook in Britain' (1987: 44). What unites the various socialist 'feminisms' is the belief that women's situation is influenced by its socio-economic context and that this context needs to be changed if we are to see an improvement in women's lives and social positions. As is apparent from our overview of liberal theory and liberal feminism, the kinds of social change the woman's movement demands and works for are difficult to secure within a capitalist society.

Early debates were centred around the application of marxist theory to feminism. Marxism examines society in terms of the material *conditions of production; that is, the circumstances* under which labour is organised and goods are produced. In capitalist society, the fundamental social divide is that of class, analysed in terms of the exploitation of working class (proletarian) labour by the bourgeoisie (those who own the means of production). Class struggle is presented as the principal force driving history, and is seen as eventually resulting in an egalitarian (socialist) society in which oppression is eradicated. Marxist feminists have attempted either to assimilate feminism into a marxist critique of capitalism or to

develop marxist theory to encompass the politics of the women's liberation movement (see Jackson, 1993). Indeed the latter group have been described by some commentators as feminist marxists (Maynard, 1989).

Thus the various contributors to what has become known as the Domestic Labour Debate, much of which was conducted in the journal New Left Review in the 1970s, focused on the relation between capitalism and housework and engendered widespread commentaries (see, for example, Seccombe, 1973; Gardiner, 1975; Coulson et al, 1975; Seccombe, 1975; Foreman, 1978; Kaluzynska, 1980; Walby, 1990; Bryson, 1993; Coole, 1993). As Coole comments, 'the debate demonstrated the utility of a marxist approach very well and for the first time offered serious analysis of women's work in the home' (1993: 181). For work at home is seen as vital for capitalism and a potential location for anti-capitalist struggle. For, as Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James (1973) contend, the unpaid work women do at home enables the workers, their husbands, to work for capitalism in the factories and the offices. If the workers had to pay someone to do their housework, this would necessitate a huge increase in wages. Housework is presented as work in Marx's sense; it is seen as benefiting capitalism, and, as such, considered to be fundamental to women's oppression. As Walby puts it, the overall argument is that,

> Capitalism could not function without women cooking, cleaning and keeping house. Hence domestic labour must create value, women must be central to capitalism, and feminism must be central to socialist strategy. (1993: 72).

Women, also, rear the labour force of the future. The international 'Wages for Housework' campaign has, therefore, pressed governments to quantify and value women's unwaged work and include it in their country's gross national product. However, marxist feminist theories of this nature have met with heavy criticism (e.g. Wilson and Weir, 1986). It was claimed that they misunderstood marxist concepts: James and Dalla Costa, for example, were described as getting, 'themselves into the singularly un-marxist position of encouraging women not to work (which they argue benefits only capitalism), of opposing the trade unions, of advocating withholding household labour from the family as a central tactic - all this and more as a consequence of basing their strategy on women as housekeepers' (Guettel, 1974: 48). Supporters of the Domestic Labour Debate were also seen as perpetuating the view that housework is women's responsibility (Bryson, 1992) and for underplaying the extent to which the 'housewife' is often a wage labourer too and thus, not addressing the contradictions that exist between these two spheres of work (Barrett, 1980). Moreover, as Bryson points out,

> What it notably failed to do...was to ask why it is that domestic labour is overwhelmingly preformed by <u>women</u> or to explore the pre-existing structures or patriarchal attitudes that produced the present gender division of labour; any idea that men as well as capitalism benefit from present arrangements therefore tended to disappear. (1992: 239, original emphasis).

Recently, however, 'Wages for Housework' claimed a partial victory for its ideas when the European Parliament in Strasbourg adopted a report on the 25th June 1993 which called for, 'women's

unwaged work - in the home, on the land and in the community - to be counted and included in the gross national products of its member states' (Wages for Housework Campaign, 1993).

Other marxist feminists have focused their attention on the position of women in the labour market. It has been argued that women are concentrated in badly-paid, low status, often part-time positions because they are regarded as financially dependent on husbands, even though this may not reflect the reality of their situation (see Maynard, 1989). The marxist concept of a reserve army of labour has been applied to women, thus locating the specificity of women's paid labour within the general marxist model of capital accumulation (Beechey, 1977; Bruegel, 1979). Women are seen as being brought in to and out of paid work as the interests of capital dictates (i.e. in terms of economic expansion and recession). Married women are particularly susceptible to this as they are seen as having somewhere to go and something to do, in other words the home and housework, when employers dispense with their services:

> ...they provide a flexible working population which can be brought into production and dispensed with as the conditions of production change...married women have a world of their very own, the family, into which they can disappear when discarded from production. (Beechey, 1977: 57).

As Phillips and Taylor comment, women are presented as the 'super-exploitables' (1980: 80) in capitalist society. Societal perception of men as the major 'breadwinners' and women as primarily housewives who may be working for a little extra 'pin-

money' to supplement their house-keeping, can be seen as reinforcing women's economic dependency on men and necessitating the finding of a husband. Guettel, a Canadian marxist feminist, has highlighted the wider implications of this, 'since she lacks access to subsistence jobs for herself...she must defer to her mate and males in general...where (women) must live, with whom, and by means of what, these are determined by economic factors, and they in turn determine the parameters of male-female relationships' (1974: 49-50).

For some marxist feminists, arguments such as these have proved to be too economically deterministic. Michelle Barrett, for example, in Women's Oppression Today (1980), whilst stressing the significance of the capitalist economic system, also considers ideology as important in terms of constructing and reproducing women's oppression. Central to Barrett's arguments is the role of the family, which is presented as having, 'underwritten much of women's oppression' (Ibid: 187). She believes that it is only through an analysis of ideology that we can understand why women continue to marry and live in conventional relationships (i.e. heterosexual 'nuclear' families) which are oppressive to them. Ideology is a powerful factor in encouraging women to accept family life as it is structured today; it enables us to, 'grasp the oppressive myth of an idealized natural 'family' to which all women must conform' (Ibid: 251). This is not to suggest that Barrett rejects human need for intimacy, sexual relations, emotional fulfilment and parenthood; rather, what she considers to be oppressive is the ideological assumption that such needs

can only be met through the conventional family system. The family system is presented as encouraging women's dependence on men and serving to restrict women's lives, with respect to what they can and cannot do; as Barrett puts it, highlighting the links between ideology and women's material situation,

> ...it is difficult to argue that the present structure of the family-household is anything other than oppressive for women. Feminists have consistently, and rightly, seen the family as a central site of women's oppression in contemporary society. The reasons for this lie both in the material structure of the household, by which women are by and large financially dependent on men, and the ideology of the family, through which women are confined to a primary concern with domesticity and motherhood. This situation underwrites the disadvantages women experience at work, and lies at the root of the exploitation of female sexuality endemic in our society. The concept of 'dependence' is perhaps, the link between the material organisation of the household, and the ideology of femininity: an assumption of women's dependence on men structures both of these areas...it seems to be the case that even in households where women contribute considerably to the budget (whether professional 'dual-career families' or lower-paid workers) the ideology of women's dependence remains strong. (Ibid: 215).

Thus, to improve the position of women, change will have to occur on both economic and ideological levels.

Barrett's perspective has been strongly criticised by black feminists for its lack of relevance to black women's lives. For black feminists the family has been seen as a site of refuge and resistance to racism. Black feminists have argued that it is the violence and coercion of a racist state, in terms of immigration laws and police practices, that is oppressive to black women, rather than the family (see, for example, Carby, 1982; Bhavani and Coulson, 1986). Barrett, in the introduction to the 1988

edition of Women's Oppression Today, acknowledges the criticisms and concedes that some of the theoretical principles on which the book is based are ethnocentric, 'perhaps the strongest example of this would be the analysis of the "male breadwinner-dependent wife system" which does not in fact apply to the black British population of West Indian origin to the same extent as it does to the dominant white ethnic group' (Ibid: vii)[11]. However, she points out that we must be aware that, whereas, some families provide an ideal environment for people, others do not and this has been found to be true over a variety of ethnically distinct family forms[12]. Further, in supporting the family, radicals risk finding themselves aligned with the Right; as Barrett comments,

> The Thatcherite respect for traditional family values acquires, as the years go by, a closer and closer similarity

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[11] Indeed this introduction shows Barrett to have retreated from many of her original arguments; for example, she comments, 'although Women's Oppression Today begins from the proposition that marxism and feminism have not been integrated, it is written with a much greater sense of the desirability of this at a political level than I would now express' (Ibid: xxiii). For Barrett, 'the arguments of post-modernism already represent...a key position around which feminist theoretical work in the future is likely to revolve' (Ibid: xxxiv). And, as Bryson notes, post-modernism with its emphasis on the multiplicity of experiences and subjectivities that exist can, 'provide a salutary warning against simplistic certainties and over-inclusiveness...it can in principle avoid the incipient racism of much feminist thought, whereby all women are seen as subject to the same processes, and the very different experiences of different groups ignored' (1992: 254).

[12] Racism both on an individual and institutional level is considered by many commentators to compound the problems of black women experiencing domestic violence. And immigration law exacerbates the situation of immigrant women by, for example, forcing them to stay with violent husbands in order to fulfil immigration requirements (Mama, 1989; Kohli, 1992).

> to the religious 'moral majority' attitude in the United States. This puts radicals in rather a difficult position, not unlike those who had to stop attacking the welfare state as a reformist obstacle to socialism and start defending it when it was savagely cut back from the right. (Ibid: xxi).

Eisenstein (1979) and Hartmann (1976, 1979) share Barrett's view that women's oppression cannot solely be reduced to an effect of capitalism. They argue that women's oppression must be understood through an analysis of both capitalism and patriarchy - the male domination of women. Capitalism and patriarchy are presented as 'dual systems' of oppression; hence we find such approaches frequently discussed under the heading of 'dual-systems theory' (e.g. Walby, 1990). History, it is argued, must be seen as a struggle that has occurred along the dimensions of class and gender. Eisenstein considers patriarchy and capitalism to be so entwined that they have fused to become one interlocking system of oppression - called 'capitalist-patriarchy'. Capitalism and patriarchy are so dependent on each other that one needs the other in order to survive and changes in one part of the capitalist-patriarchal system will result in changes in another part.

Heidi Hartmann in the title of her classic article uses the phrase, 'the unhappy marriage of marxism and feminism' to highlight the tendency of marxist debates to subsume the feminist struggle into the struggle against capitalism; thus she writes, 'the marriage of marxism and feminism has been like the marriage of husband and wife depicted in English common law: marxism and feminism are one, and that one is marxism' (1979: 1). An

appropriate comment given the subject matter of this thesis. For Hartmann, however, it is necessary to achieve a more 'progressive union' between marxism and feminism:

> Both marxist analysis, particularly its historical and materialist method, and feminist analysis, especially the identification of patriarchy as a social and historical structure, must be drawn upon if we are to understand the development of western capitalist societies and the predicament of women within them. (Ibid: 2).

Patriarchy is presented by Hartmann as pre-dating capitalism (as it does in its traditional sense) and she defines it as,

> ...a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men and enable them to dominate women. Though patriarchy is hierarchical and men of different classes, races or ethnic groups have different places in the patriarchy, they are also united in their shared relationship of dominance over their women; they are dependent on each other to maintain that domination. (Ibid: 11)

Capitalism and patriarchy are considered, in contrast to Eisenstein's analysis, to be two distinct, autonomous systems although they interact at certain points in time. This interaction is sometimes mutually reinforcing, on other occasions there is conflict between the two systems, for instance,

> ...the vast majority of men might want their women at home to personally service them. A smaller number of men, who are capitalists, might want most women (not their own) to work in the wage labour market. (Ibid: 14).

The major sites of women's oppression are considered by

Hartmann to be the home and paid employment. Unlike the more traditional marxist approaches, she stresses that men, as well as capitalism, gain from the way in which society is ordered along gendered lines. Thus, it is pointed out that because men enjoy 'a higher standard of living than women in terms of luxury consumption, leisure time and personalized services'(Ibid: 6), men of all classes have a vested material interest in the continuation of women's subordination. Hence, 'a society could undergo transition from capitalism to socialism...and remain patriarchal' (Ibid: 13). In the area of paid work, men are presented as organising or being compliant in occupational segregation by gender in order to retain their access to the best paid jobs. Women's low pay and lack of opportunities mean, for example, that for many women separation or divorce is not seen as an option and women will frequently re-marry: few women are able to support their children independently and adequately. Within the household women bear the brunt of housework, even if they are also in paid work. Women do the cooking, cleaning and rearing of children which, as we have seen, benefits men and capitalism by providing the labour force. As Walby puts it, exploitation in work and in the home, 'act to reinforce each other, since women's disadvantaged position in paid work makes them vulnerable in making marriage arrangements, and their position in the family disadvantages them in paid work' (1990: 6). Further, Hartmann notes, the patriarchal system reproduces itself, for children learn their roles in the gender hierarchy by being primarily reared in the home by women who are socially defined and recognised as inferior and, 'central to this

process...are the areas outside the home where patriarchal behaviours are taught and the inferior position of women enforced and reinforced: churches, schools, sports, clubs, unions, armies, factories, offices, heath centres, the media, etc..' (1979: 12). If women are to be free they must, therefore, fight against the capitalist economic system and patriarchy.

For Walby (1990), however, dual-systems theories, as presented in the work of Eisenstein and Hartmann, are limited in that they do not deal with the full range of patriarchal structures, particularly with respect to sexuality and violence[13]. Although Hartmann (1979) does refer to men's appropriation of women's bodies for sexual services in the home and to sexual harassment at work, this is not dealt with in any great detail. In radical feminist theory we find sexuality and violence is considered central to the oppression of women.

Before discussing radical feminist theory it must be emphasised that many of the concepts derived from socialist feminism will prove important in terms of our overall discussion of domestic violence. An analysis of the capitalist system can help to explain why men are able to get away with violence against women in the home and also the factors that prevent women from leaving violent men. As noted in the chapter on classicism, capitalism has resulted in the increased privatization of the home and, as

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[13] Walby sees a 'proper synthesis' as including waged work, housework, sexuality, culture, violence and the state (1990: 7).

Schechter notes, 'privatization is dangerous because it allows violence to accelerate while everyone says "Mind your own business. This is a family problem"' (1982: 225). Further, factors such as women's lack of work opportunities, low pay and resulting economic dependency on men are likely to influence their decision to leave or return to violent partners, particularly if they have children. The prevailing ideology concerning the conventional family structure may also play a part in ensuring such relationships are maintained.

4.2.3 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism developed towards the end of the 1960s and, as Jaggar (1983) notes, in contrast to liberal and traditional marxist conceptions of feminism which are based in philosophical traditions that are three hundred and one hundred years old respectively, is much more of a contemporary phenomenon. The theoretical impetus for radical feminism came, in part, from women's experiences of sexual domination in the New Left organisations which had sprung up during this decade. Jeanne Gregory comments that the neglect of women's issues by the male left in the United States directly led to a 'mushrooming' of feminist organisations; thus,

> The Chicago group was...conceived in anger, following a political convention at which a women's resolution was considered too insignificant to merit discussion. The chairman patted one of the women on the head and told her: 'Cool down little girl. We have more important things to talk about than women's problems'. The 'little girl' did not

> cool down. Instead, she (Shulamith Firestone) became a radical feminist and wrote The Dialectic of Sex. You could not ask for a more vivid demonstration of the inter-relationship between the political and the theoretical than this! (1986: 64).

Radical feminism is rooted in the experiences of women and, as such, is considered to be a theory that is *of* and *for* women (Bryson, 1992). Indeed Catherine MacKinnon argues that it is the only true feminist theory:

> Feminism has been widely thought to contain tendencies of liberal feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism. But just as socialist feminism has often amounted to traditional marxism...applied to women - liberal feminism has been liberalism applied to women. Radical Feminism is feminism. (1989: 117).

For radical feminists it is the male oppression of women that is the most fundamental form of domination. Patriarchy is, therefore, central to their analysis of women's position in society. It is patriarchy not capitalism that is held responsible for women's oppression and patriarchy is seen by radical feminists as having pre-dated capitalism. Men as a group are presented as dominating women as a group and are the primary beneficiaries of women's continued subordination. Indeed radical feminists often describe women as one class, men as another class; for all women are presented as bound together in the same class position because of male domination. As Millett comments in Sexual Politics[14], 'sex is a status category with political

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[14] First published in 1969, Sexual Politics and Firestone's The Dialectics of Sex, 1970, made major contributions to the development of radical feminist theory

implications' (1977: 24). Men are presented as oppressing women in all areas of life and, important to this is the idea that 'the personal is political', which serves to highlight women's oppression in their private lives and personal relationships. 'The personal is political' clearly presents a challenge to conventional political theory, including that of liberal and traditional forms of marxist feminism, which consider political power to be connected with the state or paid employment, in other words - the public sphere (see Bryson, 1992). For radical feminists, women are dominated not only in the public sphere but also in their private lives, furthermore such domination is intimate and bodily. Thus, for the majority of radical feminists patriarchal domination is considered to involve the male appropriation of women's sexuality and bodies and acts of violence.

The Social Construction of Sexuality

Sexuality is not presented as a natural or unchangeable feature of human existence, but rather as socially constructed around male sexual desire. Radical feminists react against the male construction of sexuality in which, as Maynard puts it,

> ...women are regarded as sexual objects, penetration is seen as the major source of sexual pleasure, and men are expected to take the initiative in relationships. Women, on the other hand, are simply expected to be passive and pretty and be the playthings of men. (1989: 67).

Thus in 'The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm' Anne Koedt argues,

> Women have been...defined sexually in terms of what pleases men; our own biology has not been properly analysed. Instead, we are fed the myth of the liberated woman and her vaginal orgasm - an orgasm which in fact does not exist. ...New techniques must be used or devised which transform this particular aspect of our current sexual exploitation. (1970, rpr. 1992: 263).

Adrienne Rich takes this argument further, stressing that the problem is that women have been forced into 'compulsory heterosexuality', which involves, as indicated above, a narrow form of sexual behaviour in which the emphasis is placed on penetration by the male sexual organ, and this is seen as fundamental to women's oppression. Lesbianism has been rendered invisible 'or catalogued under disease; partly because it has been treated as exceptional rather than intrinsic' (1980, rpr. 1992: 177). Such a critique of heterosexuality, as Jackson comments, 'raises the possibility of lesbianism as a positive alternative' (1993: 226) and indeed for some radical feminists, lesbianism has been a personal choice, whereas, for others it is a political choice (see Jeffreys, 1990, 1994 and Wittig, 1992). For example, the Leeds Revolutionary Feminist Group argued that 'political-lesbianism' or sexual separatism should be adopted as an oppositional strategy to patriarchy. It suggested that political-lesbianism was necessary for feminists because, 'the heterosexual couple is the basic unit of the political structure of male supremacy...Any woman who takes part in the heterosexual couple helps to shore up male supremacy by making its foundations stronger' (1981: 6).

This presentation of sexuality has, however, been strongly

criticised, particularly, in terms of the search for new sexual relationships and 'techniques' to 'transform this particular aspect of our current sexual exploitation' (Koedt, 1992: 263). Bryson notes that socialist feminists (e.g. Segal, 1987) in particular argue,

> ...that it is only from the perspective of white middle-class women that sexual lifestyles and the pursuit of orgasm can appear as central political issues; for women struggling for economic or physical survival, such questions can only be frivolous luxuries which distract energies from the more important issues of economic exploitation and class struggle, while separatism requires a degree of financial independence simply not available to most working-class women. (1992: 214).[15]

Further 'political-lesbianism' has proved highly controversial because of its implicit criticism of heterosexual women: 'if feminism is to address all women, then the critique of heterosexuality should be kept distinct from personal criticism of heterosexual women' (Jackson, 1993: 227).

The Centrality of Sexuality

Catherine MacKinnon has written that, 'sexuality is to feminism what work is to marxism: that which is one's own, yet most taken away' (1982a: 515). She contends that although both marxism and feminism are concerned with power, given their starting points are so different - marxism's is work, whereas, feminism's, she

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[15] bell hooks also comments that, 'the separatist notion that women could resist sexism by withdrawing from contact with men reflected a bourgeois class perspective' (1984: 77).

argues, is sexuality - they cannot be easily brought together and, 'attempts to create a synthesis between marxism and feminism, termed socialist-feminism, have not recognised the depth of the antagonism or the separate integrity of each theory' (Ibid: 523, 524). Furthermore it is suggested that male-dominated forms of sexuality have permeated many areas, including that of work (Walby, 1990). Catherine MacKinnon (1979), for instance, discusses sexual harassment at work.

Indeed, MacKinnon suggests that the concept of sexuality is co-terminous with that of gender: the sexualisation of dominance and subordination. Thus the inequalities between men and women, are presented as constructing what we understand to be gender:

> Sexuality is gendered as gender is sexualized. Male and female are created through the eroticization of dominance and submission. The man/ woman difference and the dominance/ submission dynamic define each other. This is the social meaning of sex and distinctively feminist account for gender inequality. (1993: 201).

For MacKinnon an analysis of rape should not, therefore, be separated from a critique of heterosexuality and she rejects the conception of rape as an expression of violence rather than sexuality, for it is impossible to divide the two:

> The male point of view defines them by distinction. What women experience does not so clearly distinguish the normal, everyday things from which those abuses have been defined by distinction...What we are saying is that sexuality in exactly these normal forms often does violate us. So long as we say those things are abuses or violent, not sex, we fail to criticize what has been made of sex. (1982b: 52).

And many radical feminists have suggested that there is a continuum between 'normal' male sexual practice and sexual violence against women (see Kelly, 1988a). Indeed, Edwards (1987) points out that the notion of violence as interwoven with heterosexuality and both being fundamental to male power is a common theme in recent radical feminist writings. This will become evident in the application of radical feminist views on violence to the grid of questions.

Male Violence Against Women

Radical feminist work has focused on a number of specific areas of male violence against women, as well as also seeing it as a 'unitary phenomenon' (Edwards, 1987), in order to explore the connections between sexuality, violence and the social control of women. Many radical feminists have considered male violence to be the basis of men's control over women. Early analyses, particularly those of American radical feminists, tended to focus on the subject of rape (Griffin, 1971; Medea and Thompson, 1974; Reynolds, 1974; Brownmiller, 1975 [16]). They

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[16] Brownmiller's arguments in Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (1975), whilst having considerable influence, have been criticised, as have those of other radical feminists, for biological essentialism (see Wilson, 1983; Edwards, 1987; Lovenduski and Randall, 1993). Brownmiller, for example, suggests that men rape because they have the biological capacity to do so, thus, 'men's structural capacity to rape and women's corresponding structural vulnerability are as basic to the physiology of both sexes as the primal act of sex itself...when men discovered they could rape, they proceeded to do it' (1975: 13-14). In more recent radical feminist writing, especially in Britain, there has, therefore, been a concern to stress that the criticism of biological essentialism is a misrepresentation of radical feminist analyses: violence

argued against the positivistic theories of rape which suggest that rape is an exceptional occurrence carried out by a few abnormal men (i.e. by those with an inadequate or asocial personality). Rape is described as the 'all-American crime' (Griffin, 1971) and the 'basic truth' of rape is emphasized: it is not, as Brownmiller puts it, a crime of irrational, impulsive, uncontrollable lust, but, 'is a deliberate, hostile, violent act of degradation and possession on the part of a would-be conqueror' (Brownmiller, 1975: 391)[17]. Thus Medea and Thompson suggest,

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is seen a product of the social construction of masculinity (Hanmer et al, 1989; see also Walby, 1990, on Brownmiller). And it is pointed out that, 'demands that men examine and reject their misogynistic construction of masculinity, and their oppressive practices would be meaningless if they came from biologistic arguments about the inherent and therefore unchangeable nature of man' (Ibid).

Brownmiller has further been attacked by black feminists, for example, Alison Edwards and Angela Davis, for not putting, 'the white myth of the black rapist into an adequate historical context' (Humm, 1992: 70). More recently her novel Waverley Place (1989a) encountered controversy. Based on the Joel Steinberg case, she raises the question of whether the battered woman, Hedda Nussbaum, was a victim or an accomplice, in terms of her adopted daughter, Lisa's death, for not taking steps to protect the child from Steinberg's violence. In a subsequent article for Ms magazine Brownmiller describes Nussbaum as a 'participant in her own and Lisa's destruction' and argues, 'victimhood must no longer be an acceptable or excusable model of female behaviour' (1989b: 61).

[17] As Edwards notes, Brownmiller, like many other radical feminists at this time, in contrast, for example, to MacKinnon and, as we shall see, other recent contributors to the violence discussion, makes, 'a distinction between 'deviant' and 'normal' heterosexuality, placing the former in the category of violence, and the latter in that of sexuality' (1987: 19).

> It is time, then, for women to stop thinking of rapists as sick or crazy men. You might very easily have dated (one) or your daughter might or your elder sister. (He) might have been the man you married or (the men) egging him on might have been friends of yours. The rapist is the man next door. (1974: 36).

Rape, and the threat of rape, is presented as enabling men to control women. It is seen as keeping all women in a state of fear because it is impossible for a woman to tell which men are safe and which are rapists. As Griffin argues, 'rape is a kind of terrorism which severely limits the freedom of women and makes women dependent on men' (1971: 7). It leads women to seek the protection of one man against all others. Reynolds further develops the social control thesis by suggesting that societal distinctions, as discussed in the preceding chapter, between what is 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' female behaviour mean that certain women are targeted, that is those who violate the traditional female role expectations : 'rape is a punitive action directed toward females who usurp or appear to usurp the culturally defined prerogatives of the dominant male role' (1974: 66). Thus,

> It is that rape and the threat of rape operates in our society to maintain the dominant position of males. It does this by restricting the mobility and the freedom of movement of women, by limiting their casual interaction with the opposite sex, and in particular by maintaining the males' prerogatives in the erotic sphere. When there is evidence that the victim was or gave the appearance of being out of her place, she can be raped and the rapist will be supported by the cultural values, by the institutions that embody these, and by the people shaped by these values...(Ibid: 67).

Radical feminists see all forms of male violence against women,

including the threat and fear of violence, as functioning as a social control mechanism forcing women to modify their behaviour by, for instance, not going out at night for fear of being attacked. In doing this men are able to control women's activities and, therefore, to oppress them: male violence serves to keep women in their place. As Bart and Moran comment, violence against women runs 'the gamut from pornographic phone calls to femicide' but 'all forms of violence are interrelated, coalescing like a girdle to keep women in our place, which is subordinate to men' (1993: 1). For some radical feminists, for example Andrea Dworkin, pornography is a 'cornerstone' : it is 'both a symptom and cause of the male hatred and contempt for women that has led to their systematic abuse over the centuries, and that affects their behaviour and treatment in all areas of life' (Bryson, 1992: 218-219)[11] .

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[11] Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon formulated a civil law which would have enabled women in the USA to take direct legal action in dealing with pornography (the Dworkin-MacKinnon Ordinance). Dworkin argues that pornography is 'a violation of women's civil rights' and the Ordinance was designed to recognise, 'the injury that pornography does: how it hurts women's rights of citizenship through sexual exploitation and sexual torture both' (1993a: 533). Dworkin and MacKinnon were successful in getting their law passed in Minneapolis and Indianapolis, however, it was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Although Dworkin and MacKinnon's proposals have won a certain amount of support in this country (Kelly 1988b; Itzin, 1993), many feminists are opposed to anti-pornography legislation. The organisation Feminists Against Censorship, for example, argue that it is likely to lead to the '"policing" of diverse sexualities' (Power, 1993: 289) when what is needed is 'a much more wide-ranging debate about sex' (Rodgerson and Wilson, 1991: 15). Further the pro-legislation/ anti-legislation debate can be seen as one between radical and socialist feminists (see Kelly, 1988b) - many of those who are against further legislation, for example, Mary McIntosh, Elizabeth Wilson and Lynne Segal, have contributed to socialist feminism. Hence, in their first leaflet Feminists Against Censorship argued,

I shall now apply the major principles of radical feminism to the grid of questions developed in Chapter Two; it is these which an adequate theory of domestic violence should be able to answer.

HUMAN NATURE

For radical feminists human nature is presented as socially constructed. The positivistic assumption of the violent man as 'sick, ill, understress, out of control' is dismissed as a myth which serves 'to remove the responsibility from men for their actions' (Kelly, 1988a: 34-5). To understand domestic violence we must, therefore, examine the construction of masculinity in sexist society. As Hanmer et al argue, 'male supremacist societies...have constructed and continue to celebrate forms of chauvinistic masculinity which not only tolerates men's use of violence, but upholds it as a virtue, whether in the promotion of war, in the defence of pornography, or the nightly television struggles between fictional good and evil' (1989: 4).

We need a feminism willing to tackle issues of class and race and to deal with a variety of oppressions in the world, not to reduce all oppressions to pornography. (1989, quoted in Rodgerson and Wilson, 1991: 15).

Society is patriarchal in structure with the male oppression of women[19]. Male violence is functional to the maintaining of male supremacy and female subordination. As Bograd has put it,

> Our society is structured along the dimension of gender: Men as a class wield power over women. As the dominant class, men have differential access to important material and symbolic resources, while women are devalued as secondary and inferior. Although important social class and race differences exist among men, all men can potentially use violence as a powerful means of subordinating women...violence is the most overt and effective means of social control. Even if individual men refrain from employing physical force against their partners, men as a class benefit from how women's lives are restricted and limited because of their fear of violence by husbands and lovers as well as by strangers. Wife abuse or battering reinforces women's passivity and dependence as men exert their rights to authority and control. The reality of domination at the social level is the most crucial factor contributing to and maintaining wife abuse at the personal level. (1988: 14).

The family, and the institution of heterosexuality that forms its basis, is seen as, 'a central institution in patriarchal society, one in which private struggles around patriarchal power relations are enacted, and hence one in which violence frequently features as a form of control of the powerless by the powerful' (Radford and Stanko, 1991: 200). Thus, as we have seen, radical feminists are extremely critical of the ordering of society into

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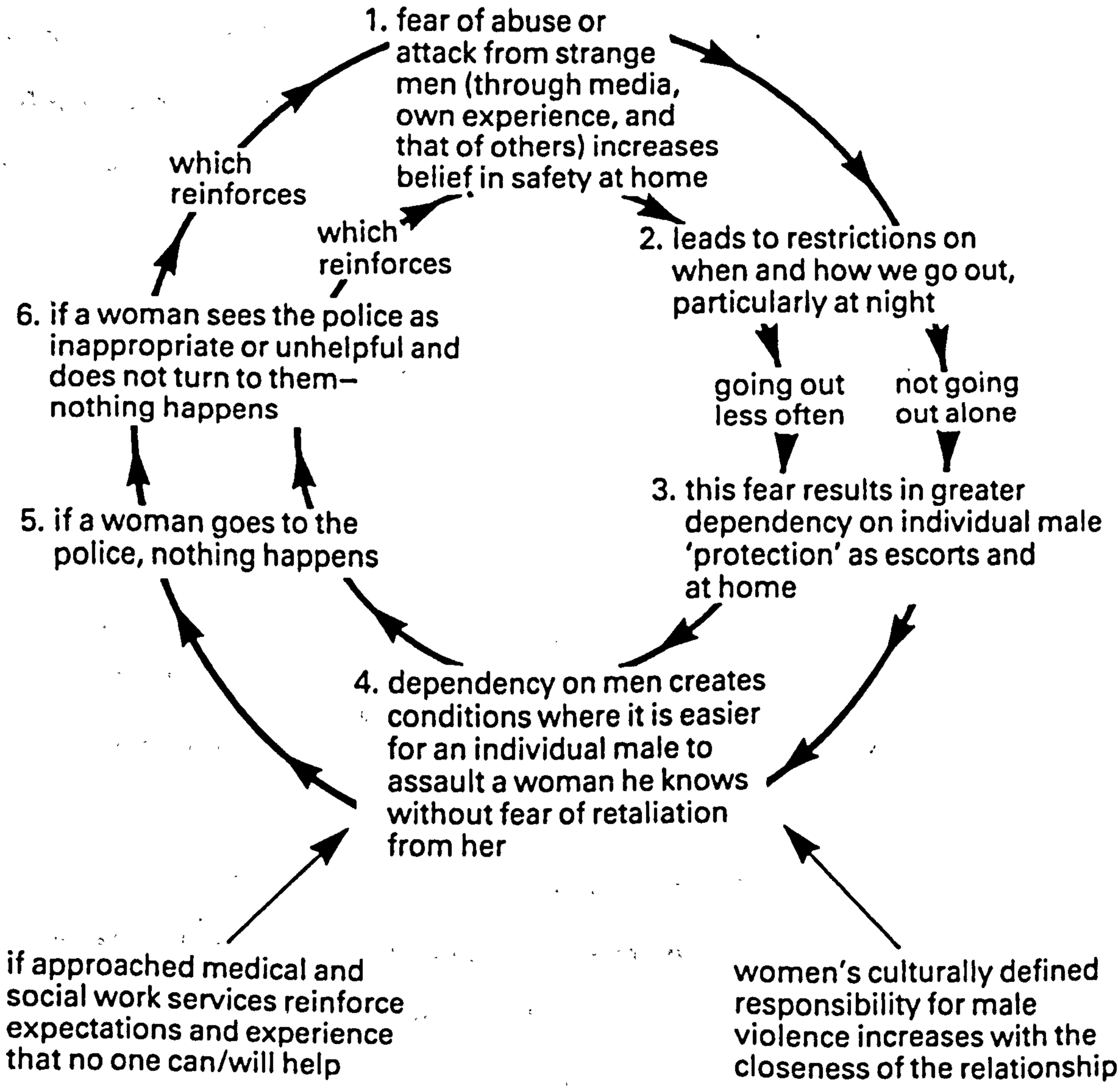
[19] In some accounts, following, as we have noted, the centrality awarded to heterosexuality in understanding women's oppression (e.g. Rich, 1980; MacKinnon, 1989), the term'hetero-patriarchy' is preferred to that of 'patriarchy', 'to signify a system of social relations based on male dominance, or supremacy, in which men's structured relationships to women underpin all other systems of exploitation' (Hanmer et al, 1989: 2).

public and private spheres: it is emphasized that 'wife abuse is not a private matter but a social one' (Bograd, 1988: 15). Moreover, Hanmer and Saunders' (1984) 'circular spiral of violence' illustrates how male violence or perceptions of male violence perpetuates the division between public and private spheres (see Figure 1): Women's fear of violence by male strangers in public places - fed by public discourse, including that of the media, and women's actual experiences - is seen as leading to a lessening of public participation by women and a greater dependency on known men for protection. This is considered to create the conditions for individual men to assault 'their women' and the lack of intervention in cases of private violence by the criminal justice system and medical and social work agencies further,

> ...encourages dependence on the collective male protection system which has the effect of reinforcing a state of dependent helplessness. It does not reduce women's fear of public violence. If women decide the police will not or cannot help, or that it is inappropriate to involve them, fear of public abuse (also) remains unchallenged. (Ibid: 67).

FIGURE 1: The Circular Spiral of Violence



The perpetuation of the division between the public and private sphere of women's lives

Source: Ibid: 66

DEFINITION

Radical feminists have challenged conventional definitions of violence and legal categories: these are seen to, 'reflect men's ideas and limit the range of male behaviour that is deemed unacceptable to the most extreme, gross and public forms' (Kelly, 1988a: 138). They point out that when conventional definitions are utilized women find themselves caught between their own experiences which they regard as abusive and the dominant male discourse which defines such behaviour as normal or to be expected. Indeed Kelly argues,

> It is men's interest, as a class and as the perpetrators of sexual violence, to ensure the definitions of sexual violence are as limited as possible. Language is a further means of controlling women. (Ibid: 130).

Radical feminist definitions, in contrast, have developed from understanding and documenting women's experiences and, as such, shift 'attention from only those forms of violence where physical harm and injury are obvious such as rape or battering, to more "taken for granted" forms such as sexual harassment' (Ibid: 27). These definitions have expanded, and indeed are seen as continuing to develop, 'as women named previously unnamed forms

of abuse' (Radford and Stanko, 1991: 186)[20]. Thus, on the defining of domestic violence, Liz Kelly and Jill Radford note,

> When feminists set up refuges they also named the violence experienced by the women using them as battering - a name which focuses on physical violence. As more women came to refuges and talked about their experience of abuse it became clear that physical violence was one aspect of 'domestic' violence; women also described forced sex and a range of mental and psychological abuse. (1987: 244).

Radical feminists are, therefore, concerned with how <u>women</u> themselves define violence: 'domestic violence' is that which women define as 'domestic violence'. As Kelly argues, 'if we are to reflect in our definition...the range and complexity of what women and girls experience as abusive we must listen to what they have to say' (1988a: 71). And, in line with this, Radford comments that, throughout the <u>Wandsworth Violence Against Women - Women Speak Out Survey</u>,

> ...during interviewing, analysis and writing-up we have made no attempt to define the terms 'violence', 'harassment' or 'threat'. Rather than engage with competing malestream experts' views on the subject, we considered it important for the women interviewed to interpret these terms according to their own experiences. (1987: 32).

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[20] The introduction by Ruth Hall (1985) of the term 'racist sexual violence' is presented as an example of this: it serves to illustrate,

> ...the fact that for black women racism and sexism may be inseparable. 'Racial assault' is kept separate from 'sexual assault' in many people's minds - one is a 'race issue' and 'one is a 'women's issue'. Black women can make no such separation. (Kelly and Radford, 1987: 244).

This more than any other method is seen as capturing 'the extent of the impact of violence upon women' (Maynard, 1989: 105).

Sexual Violence

Radical feminists have moved from seeing the various forms of violence against women - domestic violence, rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment, incest, child sexual abuse and pornography-as separate phenomenon to viewing them as part of a more general or, as mentioned above, a 'unitary' phenomenon, that of 'sexual violence'. Sexual violence is defined by Kelly as, 'any physical, visual or sexual act that is experienced by the woman or girl, at the time or later, as a threat, invasion or assault, that has the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or takes away her ability to control intimate contact' (1988a: 41). As Maynard puts it, the various forms of violence are seen as 'acts directed at women because their bodies are socially regarded as sexual'; they are all linked, 'by virtue of the fact that they are overwhelmingly male acts of aggression against women and girls, often use sex as a means of exercising power and domination, and their effect is to intrude upon and curtail women's activities' (1989: 106-7).

Liz Kelly utilizes the term 'continuum' to describe the extent and range of sexual violence in women's lives: the concept of continuum is based on two of its Oxford English Dictionary meanings: 'a basic common character that underlies many different

events' and, 'a continuous series of elements or events that pass into one another and which cannot be readily distinguished'. Kelly argues,

> The first meaning enables us to discuss sexual violence in a generic sense. The basic common character underlying the many different forms of violence is the abuse, intimidation, coercion, intrusion, threat and force men use to control women. The second meaning enables us to document and name the range of abuse, intimidation, coercion, intrusion, threat and force whilst acknowledging there are no clearly defined and discrete analytic categories into which men's behaviour can be placed. (1988a: 76, original emphasis).

The concept of continuum enables the linking of the more common everyday experiences of abuse that women experience with the less common experiences which are defined as crimes: it shows how 'typical' and 'aberrant' male behaviour blend into each other. Thus,

> There is no clear distinction, therefore, between consensual sex and rape, but a continuum of pressure, threat, coercion and force. The concept of a continuum validates the sense of abuse women feel when they do not freely consent to sex and takes account of the fact that women may not define their experience at the time or over time as rape. (1987: 58).

Further it is stressed that we must not see the continuum as implying that one form of sexual violence is more serious than another: it is considered as 'inappropriate to create a hierarchy of abuse within a feminist analysis' (1988a: 76). For as Kelly points out,

> ...women's reactions to incidents of sexual violence at the time, and the impact on them over time, are complex matters.

> With the important exception of sexual violence which results in death, the degree of impact cannot be simplistically inferred from the form of sexual violence or its place within a continuum.(Ibid: 76).

EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION

Official statistics are seen by radical feminists as vastly under-reporting all forms of violence against women. As we have seen, it is argued that for the official agencies many aspects of sexual violence are not seen as warranting the label of 'crime'. Furthermore to take domestic violence as an example, it is repeatedly pointed out that women do not report for a wide variety of reasons, for example, because of fear of reprisals from the man, or his friends and family; embarrassment; that the police will consider it too trivial and so on (see Hanmer and Saunders, 1984). Feminists have also pointed out that even when domestic violence is reported the police are often reluctant to intervene and will frequently 'no-crime' such cases even when they clearly fit into the legal categorisations of assault (Kelly and Radford, 1987; Hanmer et al, 1989)[11].

Conventional victimisation surveys, such as the national British Crime Surveys, are also seen as inadequate in measuring the extent of violence against women: they, likewise, focus on

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[11] The recent rise in violent offences is, therefore, largely seen as due to changes to police recording practices in light of feminist campaigning to get violence against women treated seriously: the police have pushed 'some of what was classified as non-crime into the crime books' (Radford and Stanko, 1991: 189).

a narrow range of violent behaviours (see Radford, 1987) and women will frequently not inform interviewers of their experiences for as Hanmer and Saunders comment,

> Women may not want to remember a painful situation, or may not want a story spread further, or the event may be seen as non-criminal. We believe that women are even more likely to take the responsibility for attacks from men known or related to them than they are for stranger violence. (1984: 24).

The perpetrator may also be near to the interview situation and the interviewee too frightened to report accurately.

Radical feminist surveys, in contrast, point to a wide spread problem of male violence: for example, McGibbon, Cooper and Kelly's (1989) study on domestic violence in Hammersmith and Fulham revealed 39 per cent of women had experienced 'verbal or physical threats', 35 per cent 'punched/shoved', 18 per cent 'beaten-up' and 10 per cent 'attacked with a weapon' from a male partner at some time in their lives[11]. And Hanmer and Saunders' (1984) survey in Leeds and Radford's (1987) in Wandsworth found 59 per cent and 76 per cent of women, respectively, had at least one experience of sexual violence in the previous year. Indeed, Liz Kelly using the concept of a continuum of sexual violence, emphasises, 'that all women experience sexual violence at some point in their lives' (1987: 59) and as such,

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[11] The utilizing of pre-determined definitions of violent behaviours in this survey contradicts Kelly's (1987; 1988a; 1988c) earlier insistence on the importance of using women's definitions.

> ...a clear distinction cannot be made between 'victims' and other women. The fact that some women only experience violence at the more common, everyday end of the continuum is a difference in degree and not in kind. The use of the term 'victim' in order to separate one group of women from other women's lives and experiences must be questioned. The same logic applies to the definition of offenders. (Ibid: 59).

In terms of the distribution of male violence, radical feminists argue that it cuts across class and race divisions. Thus, they are highly critical of discussions which consider such variables as relevant: for as Radford and Stanko comment,

> When familial violence is recognised, the old stereotypes around race and class surface. Violence is assumed to be a characteristic of blacks and working class families, which were then pathologised. If the violence is deemed the norm in 'pathological' families, then either no intervention is called for or alternatively black families are targeted for therapy to bring them into the white, nuclear family 'norm'. Conversely, in white middle-class families, the prevailing myth is that 'nice' professional men don't do it. The strength of this myth is such that some middle class women find it hard to convince police and other state professionals that they need support. (1991: 198).

Furthermore, it is pointed out that, 'historical evidence and evidence from a range of cultures and societies suggests that sexual violence occurs in most societies and that certain forms of sexual violence occur in the majority of human societies, particularly rape and violence to wives' (Kelly and Radford, 1987: 238). In examining the distribution of violence overall by relationship to the male perpetrator it is, however, suggested by many radical feminists that he is more likely to be a known man than an unknown man: women's attackers 'are most likely to be those near and dear rather than the shadowy stranger' (Radford

and Stanko, 1991: 198). It is domestic rather than stranger violence that presents the greatest problem for women. Indeed Hanmer and Saunders (1984) point out that violence against women in public may actually be 'private' domestic violence: violence from male partners is not necessarily confined to the home.

CAUSES

For radical feminists the causes of men's violence lie in patriarchy and the construction of masculinity within this social order. Male violence, whether in the home or in public space, is a reflection of the unequal power relations between men and women in society and also serves to maintain those unequal power relations. Violence is essential to a system of gender subordination (MacKinnon, 1989; Radford and Stanko, 1991). As Kelly and Radford comment,

> We see patriarchy as a systematic set of social relations through which men maintain power over women and children. One of the forms of control common to patriarchal societies is the use of sexual violence. The presence of sexual violence is...one of the defining features of a patriarchal society. It is used by men, and often condoned by the state, for a number of specific purposes: to punish women who are seen to be resisting male control; to police women, make them behave in particular ways; to claim rights of sexual, emotional and domestic servicing; and through all of these maintain the relations of patriarchy, male dominance and female subordination. Patriarchal oppression like all forms of imperialism/oppression/exploitation is ultimately based on violence. (1987: 238-9).

Anne Edwards notes that violence is a 'socially- produced' and frequently also a 'socially legitimated' cultural phenomenon: 'masculinity and femininity, 'man' and 'woman', male and female

sexuality are all socially constructed' (1987: 26). Thus 'masculinity as it is currently constructed in western culture, draws on notions of virility, conquest, power and domination and these themes are reflected in gender relations and heterosexual practices' (Kelly, 1988a: 30). And, as we have seen, such ideology is often presented by radical feminists as taking the form of pornography which directly contributes to the patriarchal social order and the construction of male and female relationships. Andrea Dworkin suggests, 'at the heart of the female condition is pornography; it is the ideology that is the source of all the rest' (1983: 223).

IMPACT.

Through focusing on women's experiences radical feminists have highlighted the impact of men's violence on women. With respect to domestic violence, McGibbon, Cooper and Kelly have pointed out,

> Living with the threat and reality of violence has profound impacts on the lives of women and children. It is not only the physical and emotional consequences of violence which undermine women's sense of self, but also the isolation, shame and persistent criticism and humiliation that often accompanies assaults...Women and children's lives are also diminished by the constant energy they have to put into coping with fear, and trying to 'manage' family relationships in order to minimize the violence. (1989: 6-7).

Furthermore, societal attitudes which blame women for the violence and the lack of support from the police and other agencies is seen to compound the impact of women's experiences.

Andrea Dworkin has documented her own experiences in 'Living in Terror, Pain: Being a Battered Wife' showing the effects as long-lasting: 'there isn't a day when I feel fear that I will see him and he will hurt me' (1993b: 239).

And, as I have stressed throughout this section, male violence is presented as functioning as a form of social control of women serving to keep women in their place which is subordinate to men. Betsy Stanko, for example, demonstrates how women's lives are structured around concerns for personal safety:

> Wherever women are, their peripheral vision monitors the landscape and those around them for potential danger. On the street, we listen for footsteps approaching and avoid looking men in the eyes. At home, women are more likely than men to ask callers to identify themselves before opening the front door and to search for ways to minimize conflict with potentially violent partners...Women's lives rest upon a continuum of unsafety...For the most part, women find they must constantly negotiate their safety with men - those with whom they live, work or socialise, as well as those they have never met. (1990: 85).

Male violence denies women their freedom and autonomy. And the myriad forms of violence that women experience is described as having a cumulative effect, as Kelly and Radford point out,

> Women do not experience sexual violence as a number of discrete categories. What in law and criminology would be defined as 'minor' may, because of its place in a cumulative experience, have major impacts on women's subsequent feelings and behaviour. (1987: 242).

Thus it is not surprising, from this perspective, that conventional victimisation surveys, such as the British Crime

Surveys, have shown women to have a high fear of crime. For radical feminists this fear is based in reality. Moreover, it is emphasized that women's fear of crime is women's fear of men and this, 'entails understanding the ever-present reality of women's experiences of men's threatening and/ or violent behaviour' (Stanko, 1987: 130).

Radical feminists in discussing the impact of men's violence have also stressed the many resisting, coping and survival strategies adopted by women: indeed it is argued that we must think of women as 'survivors' rather that 'victims' of men's violence. The term 'victim' is seen as implying a passive response to violent incidents and their aftermath, whereas, Kelly's research revealed that,

> Despite being in fear of their lives, or that incidents might escalate, many women chose to resist sexual violence. Resistance included physical struggle, verbal challenge and refusal to be controlled by abusive men. Some women's resistance resulted in the avoidance of rape or a particular incident of abuse. Other women altered the course of the assaults. For some women, particularly battered women, continued resistance often meant they experienced more severe violence.
>
> If resistance failed to prevent violence, or when women chose not to resist physically, they engaged in coping strategies through which they attempted to limit the impact of the violence on them. (1988a: 183-4).

Kelly also found women were distrustful of men and experienced conflicts about heterosexuality, and she argues these are not to be seen as,

> ...dysfunctional' reactions but part of women's active and

> adaptive attempts to cope with the reality of sexual violence. They can only be defined as 'dysfunctional' if men's interests are the starting point for analysis. Whilst so much of women's experience of heterosexual sex is neither pleasurable nor freely chosen, it is in women's interests to refuse to enter, or stay in, heterosexual relationships in which they feel pressured or coerced' (Ibid: 216)

METHODS

There are, as I have indicated throughout this thesis, many valuable criticisms made by feminists of the research methods used in mainstream social science. It has been said, for example, of conventional positivistic research that, 'it appears to some critics that social scientists are suffering from "physics envy", and therefore try to be as methodologically hard as their brothers in the natural sciences in an attempt to prove that they, too, are objective scientists' (Yllo, 1988: 34). Main stream social science despite its claims to objectivity is presented as the world perceived from the perspective of men (see Harding, 1986; 1987). And work on domestic violence is considered necessarily limited because it does not take into account gender and power which are central factors for feminist researchers (Bograd 1988; Yllo, 1988).

The concern of radical feminists is with women's experiences and the validating of those experiences: thus, their approach is to take an explicitly 'feminist standpoint' in their work: 'the basic tenet of a feminist standpoint is that it is a way of looking at the world -from the standpoint of women' (Kelly, 1990: 108). Indeed, as we have noted, theory is seen as arising out

of experience. Further, instead of objectivity, or 'value-free' research, radical feminists argue for 'conscious partiality'. As Bograd comments, it is 'crucial that researchers make explicit the values that guide their work' (1988: 21). Thus Liz Kelly is 'explicit about her identity as a woman, a researcher, and a political activist' (Ibid: 22). From the work of radical feminists, to paraphrase Howard Becker (1967), it is clear whose side they are on: their political commitment to the ending of the oppression of women is made obvious.

With respect to violence, 'instead of trying to fit women's experiences into predefined 'commonsensical' categories, feminist researchers began to explore what violence means to the participants themselves' (Bograd, 1988: 22). Again, and as we have noted above, this feature is particularly evident in the work of Liz Kelly (1987; 1988a; 1988c). Feminist researchers also examine what violence means to them; that is they locate themselves within the research experience. Kelly, therefore, describes the impact that researching sexual violence had on her - it made her more aware of sexual violence, led to feelings of vulnerability and also brought back memories of assaults that had occurred in childhood and adolescence which she had psychologically blocked. And, as she points out,

> Moving between the interviews and my own experiences and reactions was an integral part of the research methodology. Had I 'tuned out' these responses I would probably not have noticed or fully understood the importance of aspects of women's experience of sexual violence. (1988a: 19).

Other core research principles for radical feminists have included a concern to break down hierarchical relationships between researcher and researched. As Stanley and Wise have argued the traditional relationship between researcher and researched in which personal involvement is minimized:

> ...is obscene because it treats people as mere objects, there for the researcher to do research 'on'. Treating people as objects - sex objects or research objects - is morally unjustifiable. (1983: 170).

Thus a more interactive methodology is advocated in which, 'an attempt is made to generate a collaborative approach to the research which engages both the interviewer and respondent in a joint enterprise' (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976: 31). This enables the interviewee to 'jointly interpret' the data with the interviewer and build-up what is meaningful to them (see Reinharz, 1979; Kelly, 1988a).

On the choice of method, the emphasis on women's experiences originally led to a preference for the qualitative method, that is in-depth interviewing. In-depth interviews are seen as better reflecting the nature of women's experiences. Quantitative methods, in contrast, are described as 'having a special capacity for dehumanizing the people we study' (Yllo, 1988: 44); they are 'inherently patriarchal', 'hard' and 'masculinist' (see Ibid)[11]. Thus Loraine Gelsthorpe comments,

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[11] The relative merits and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative methods in social science research has been subject to much debate (see Glaser amd Straus, 1967; Bryman, 1988).

> Some writers suggest that quantitative methods are inconsistent with feminist values, have an objective appearance and, therefore, have no place in feminist methodologies...they argue that quantitative methods cannot convey an in depth understanding of, or feeling for, those being researched...(1990: 90).

But, as she points out, 'the problem is perhaps not quantification itself but insensitive quantification' (Ibid: 91) and there has in the last decade been more of an acceptance of quantitative methods, in particular the social survey (see Maynard, 1994; Kelly et al, 1994). As Kelly puts it, 'certain research questions, important to feminists, can only be answered where relatively large numbers, and a cross-section of the population, participate in the study', for instance, 'answering the question "how common is child sexual abuse" has implications for social policy' (1990: 113). And in the area of violence there have been several radical feminist surveys in this country (see Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Radford, 1987; McGibbon et al, 1989). These surveys have been characterised by an extremely sensitive approach, such as the careful wording of questionnaires, providing help-line cards, referrals to support groups, setting-up self-help groups and organising community meetings (Radford, 1987; Kelly and Radford, 1987). Furthermore, as noted above in referring to the Wandsworth survey, (Radford, 1987), radical feminists have generally retained an emphasis on subjective experience by using women's definitions of violence. Thus Hanmer and Saunders, comment,

> In our study we did not want to pre-determine the meaning of the term violence. We wanted women to define violence for themselves. We wanted to know about the experiences of women and the lines that they drew around their experiences. (1984: 30).

POLICY

The ultimate goal of radical feminism is to overthrow the patriarchal social order: 'a future free of the threat and reality of sexual violence requires nothing less than the total transformation of patriarchal relations' (Kelly and Radford, 1987: 247). In the short term, however, they argue for men's violence to be treated seriously. For men this involves the,

> ...questioning and challenging (of) the patriarchal construction of masculinity...(This) requires men to take responsibility for their sexual practice: to, for example, critically examine the use of force, coercion or pressure in heterosexual relations and how pornography affects their attitudes to, and behaviour in relationships with, women. (Ibid: 239).

Indeed, according to Jill Radford and Betsy Stanko, we must question, 'whether heterosexuality is the natural, normal and only possibility for women, whether it is indeed voluntary or compulsory for women living under the conditions of patriarchy and whether it is in our best interests' (1991: 200). The implication of this is that as men are the major perpetrators of violence, women should try to have as little as possible to do with them. And this can be seen as including the present legal system for this is frequently seen as having failed to respond

to the problem of male violence: Catherine MacKinnon argues this is because,

> ...the state is male in the feminist sense. The law sees and treats women the way men see and treat women. The liberal state coercively and authoritatively constitutes the social order in the interest of men as gender, through its legitimizing norms, relation to society, and substantive policies. It achieves this through the embodying and ensuring male control over women's sexuality at every level, occasionally cushioning, qualifying, or de jure prohibiting its excesses when necessary to its normalisation. (1993: 207).

Many radical feminists have, however, campaigned for changes in legal and police practice and argue for the government and public agencies to improve their response to women and to make men accountable for their behaviour. In terms of governmental crime prevention advice, the Home Office's emphasis on 'stranger-danger' and reducing fear of crime has been strongly criticised (see, for example, Stanko, 1990; 1992; Radford and Stanko, 1991). But, as Susan Edwards notes, this is not without some ambivalence, for some radical feminists, whom she calls 'feminist idealists', 'have argued that the state and the law, the legal mechanism and the police are part of a patriarchal structure, under which attempts at legal reform are only tinkerings within the overall system of control and regulation - so legal change serves only to perpetuate the basic conditions of patriarchy' (1989: 15). MacKinnon proposes, instead of changes to man-made law, the introduction of a feminist jurisprudence grounded in women's experiences which is, as Smart comments, an attempt, 'to provide a way out of the engulfing brace of liberalism which, in the form of law reform, has done so little to emancipate women'

(1989: 76). Radical feminists have also acknowledged the limitations of the criminal justice system, for example, as Radford and Stanko point out, removing the married man's exemption in terms of marital rape 'will not automatically protect women from sexual abuse by their husbands' (1991: 195).

On the police, radical feminists - whilst stressing the need for improvement and generally welcoming the improved policies - are cautious of giving the police too much power. It is noted, for example, how the first Domestic Violence Units in London were located in Tottenham and Brixton, the location of poor black-police relations (Mama, 1989; Radford and Stanko, 1991). Mama suggests, 'such units have a hidden agenda, concerned with convicting more black men' (1989: 304-5). And Hanmer and Saunders (1984) argue that too much police power will lead the police to harass women, as they harass members of the black and Irish communities. And they base this assumption in their own personal experience; thus they comment, whilst writing Well Founded Fear,

> ...we were co-incidently, being harassed by the West Yorkshire Police. The first call was about arson attacks on sex/video shops in a suburb of Leeds and the second and third were about the attempted bombing of the Leeds Conservative Party head-quarters. The last visit involved a thorough search of our home. The papers taken were correspondence from well-known women academics and publishers in Britain regarding a French feminist theoretical journal, Nouvelles Questions Feministes, whose editor-in-chief is Simone de Beauvoir, one copy of a British feminist women-only magazine, and a graduate student essay on menstruation...Our only 'crimes' are to help individual women who have been abused, and to write about violence from men to women, and how little the police do to protect women

> from attack by men...We conclude that to dare to speak out is to have a police file made on you; to be 'lifted' without evidence. (Ibid: 111-2).

With respect to other professional agencies, for example, social work, Victim Support, and the various counselling services that have sprung-up in the last few years, radical feminists frequently argue that they fail to 'offer a gendered analysis about violence against women' (Radford and Stanko, 1991: 198). It is pointed out, particularly with respect to 'the newly arrived caring professionals', that they frequently present,

> Physical battering...(as) either a reflection of bad marital relations, personality disputes, or intoxicating substances, not the manifestation of unequal power and a need for control. Sexual abuse, following the same line, arises because of men's uncontrollable lust or miscommunication with women and children, not as an exercise of patriarchal power. (Ibid: 198-199).

Further, 'instead of forwarding women's and children's best interests, we see too many of these professionals containing women within the structures of heterosexuality and the family and building lucrative careers for themselves on the backs of male violence' (Ibid: 191). Thus the need for radical feminists to monitor all agencies and policy development is stressed.

In contrast to state and professional agencies, feminists have provided women-centred support services for women, such as Women's Aid and Rape Crisis. Unlike the more mainstream agencies these organisations are seen as offering, 'unconditional support for women and children in whatever strategies they elect' (Ibid:

191). These organisations have arisen directly out of women's experiences and 'because of the inadequacies in the responses of statutory agencies and the extent to which myths and stereotypes are reflected in their practice' (Kelly, 1988a: 380). Moreover, the need for women's collective support and action is constantly stressed throughout the radical feminist literature; as Hanmer and Saunders argue,

> Our strength must be in our women's groups and organisations. We have to organise to protect ourselves and our children from all forms of male violence and control. (1984: 112).

And, as Liz Kelly maintains,

> It was never the intention of those of us who chose work in this area in the 1970s that our work become limited to 'band aid'solutions: as Maria Zavala puts it, 'a MASH unit, patching up the wounded and sending them back to the front line'...No matter how effective our services and support networks, no matter how much change in policy and practice is achieved, without a mass movement of women committed to resisting sexual violence in all its forms there will continue to be casualties in the 'shadow war' and women's and girl's lives will continue to be circumscribed by the reality of sexual violence. (1988a: 238).

In the next chapter many of the insights of radical feminism will be used to contribute to the theoretical and methodological backcloth of this thesis. Of particular note are its conception of human nature as socially constructed; of male violence as widespread and central to the maintaining of the patriarchal social order, serving as a key mechanism for the social control of women, and its advocacy of sensitive research methods. This

being said, there are some difficulties with its analysis which need to be addressed.

Criticisms

THE OVER-EMPHASIS ON SEXUALITY

As we have seen in the discussion of socialist feminism, and, indeed, as numerous commentators have pointed out, there are many facets to women's oppression that cannot be reduced simply to sexuality. For instance, leaving aside the issue of sexual harassment, there is the question of the position of women in the labour market. The analysis offered by radical feminists also suggests, 'an over-general and ahistorical perspective which obscures changes in the nature of patriarchy and the different ways it is experienced by different groups of women' (Bryson, 1992: 221). With respect to violence, although an examination of the construction of heterosexual relationships is fundamental to the understanding of male violence against women in the home, an emphasis on male sexuality cannot account for other forms of violence such as lesbian battering (Lobel, 1986; Renzetti, 1992).

Furthermore, as Bryson notes, the classifying of all heterosexual acts together - as in Kelly's concept of the continuum of sexual violence - may have the effect of concealing 'the horror of actual rape' (1992: 215). And many feminists (for

example, Segal, 1987; Lovenduski and Randall, 1994) have also protested against the utter hostility expressed by some radical feminists towards male sexuality, and 'the denial that this may sometimes be expressed in terms favourable to women' (Bryson, 1992: 221). To imply that male violence leads women to question their heterosexuality and that separatism may be a preferred option in patriarchal society is out-of-touch with the wishes of the majority of women and the reality of their lives.

A PROBLEM OF METHOD

As we have seen, radical feminists argue for broad, all-encompassing definitions which aim to reflect women's subjective experience. However, it can be argued that an over-reliance on such an approach masks the very real definitional differences that exist amongst different groups of the population arising from factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, class and education. Lumping all forms of violence together prevents the examination of the differential impact of violence as experienced by different groups of women and the assessment of their specific needs.

Moreover, some of the principles identified as constituting a 'feminist method' are difficult to put into practice when interviewing men or in large scale survey work. For example, the breaking down of hierarchical relationships may be hard to achieve, if not impossible, if the interviewee is a man and, moreover, if we are to examine the construction of masculinity,

the research process must obviously at some point have to involve men. A 'collaborative approach', is, in addition, likely to prove impractical if 1,000 people are participating in the study. And the democratization of the research process will be hampered if some of those being interviewed do not like the interviewer or express attitudes and politics that are abhorrent to the research team as is likely to occur in survey work where a cross-section of the population is participating in the research.

Finally, radical feminist surveys have been criticised for using either too small or biased samples which prevent their results from being generalised to the population as a whole (see MacLean, 1985). In part such a criticism can be met by pointing to the problems of underfunding and arguing that with sufficient funds sizable and reliable samples would be possible. But there is a tendency in radical feminism which would argue that 'small is good' and perhaps believe that women's opinions and consciousness is so similar that the differentiation of sub-populations is relatively unimportant. On the contrary, the position argued in this thesis is that both small and large scale research work is necessary, preferably in conjunction, and that the level of consensus between different parts of the population is necessarily problematic.

CHAPTER 5

LEFT REALISM

5.1 THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF LEFT REALIST THEORY

Left realism emerged in the mid-1980s[1] as a criminological theory of the Left[2]. It has had a significant impact both on a theoretical and empirical level on criminological thinking in Britain and also, although to a lesser extent, in Canada (see Lowman and MacLean, 1992)[3]. This chapter will begin with a brief introduction to left realism and then turn to analyse its main principles in relation to our grid of questions. It will conclude by exploring the contribution made by left realism and radical feminism to this thesis.

The starting point of left realism is to take on board people's concerns about crime, showing these to be more rational and

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[1] Some of the arguments of left realism were, however, articulated in the writings of Jock Young in the 1970s (see, for example, 'Working Class Criminology' (1975) and 'Left Idealism, Reformism and Beyond' (1979).

[2] Despite using the term 'realism', left realism does not explore the philosophical realism of writers such as Popper, Giddens and Bhaskar - although it is argued that it would benefit from doing so (see Walklate, 1992c and d; Carlen 1992).

[3] It should also be noted that the work of Elliott Currie and Ray Michalowski in the United States and David Brown and Russell Hogg in Australia is similar to left realism.

realistic than either the new administrative (see Chapter Two) or the marxist-influenced critical criminologies make out. Left realists describe critical criminology[4] - sometimes termed 'radical criminology' or 'left idealism' - as typically minimizing the importance of working class crime by emphasising the crimes of the powerful (that is, those of the ruling class: the police, corporations and state agencies) and seeing, 'the war against crime as a side-track from the class struggle, at best an illusion invented to sell news, at worst an attempt to make the poor scapegoats by blaming their brutalizing circumstances on themselves' (Lea and Young, 1984: 1). As John Lowman has put it, realists have faulted critical criminology, 'for treating crime as an epiphenomenon, with the criminal - conceived as a sort of socialist homunculus or proto-revolutionary - being viewed as determined and blameless, punishment as unwarranted or amplificatory' (1992: 141). Thus John Lea and Jock Young point out,

> ...there was a belief that property offences are directed solely against the bourgeoisie and that violence against the person is carried out by amateur Robin Hoods in the course of their righteous attempts to redistribute wealth. All of this is, alas untrue. (1984: 262).

Left realism starts with the problems as people experience them: it, therefore, treats, 'seriously the complaints of women with regards the dangers of being in public places at night, it takes note of the fears of the elderly with regard to burglary,

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[4] There has been considerable debate between critical criminologists and left realists, some of which has been openly hostile (see Lowman, 1992; Brown and Hogg, 1992).

it acknowledges the widespread occurrence of domestic violence and racist attacks' (Young, 1986: 24). And it is feminist research, such as that documented in the last chapter, that is credited with influencing left realism's perspective on the victim of crime. For feminist work on rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment is described as having brought home, 'the limits of the romantic conception of crime and the criminal' as conveyed by critical criminology (Matthews and Young, 1986: 2; see also, Jones et al, 1986)[5]. Thus left realism is committed to the construction of a more accurate victimology in criminology, one which takes into account the extent of victimisation and also its social and geographical focus.

However, the concern of left realism is not just with 'taking crime seriously' and the victims of crime: it argues that criminology must embrace the totality of the criminal process if it is to reflect the reality of crime. That is it must take into account the fact that crime must involve formal and informal control systems (the reaction to crime), as well as, offenders and victims (the criminal action). This is described by realists as the 'square of crime' (Figure 1).

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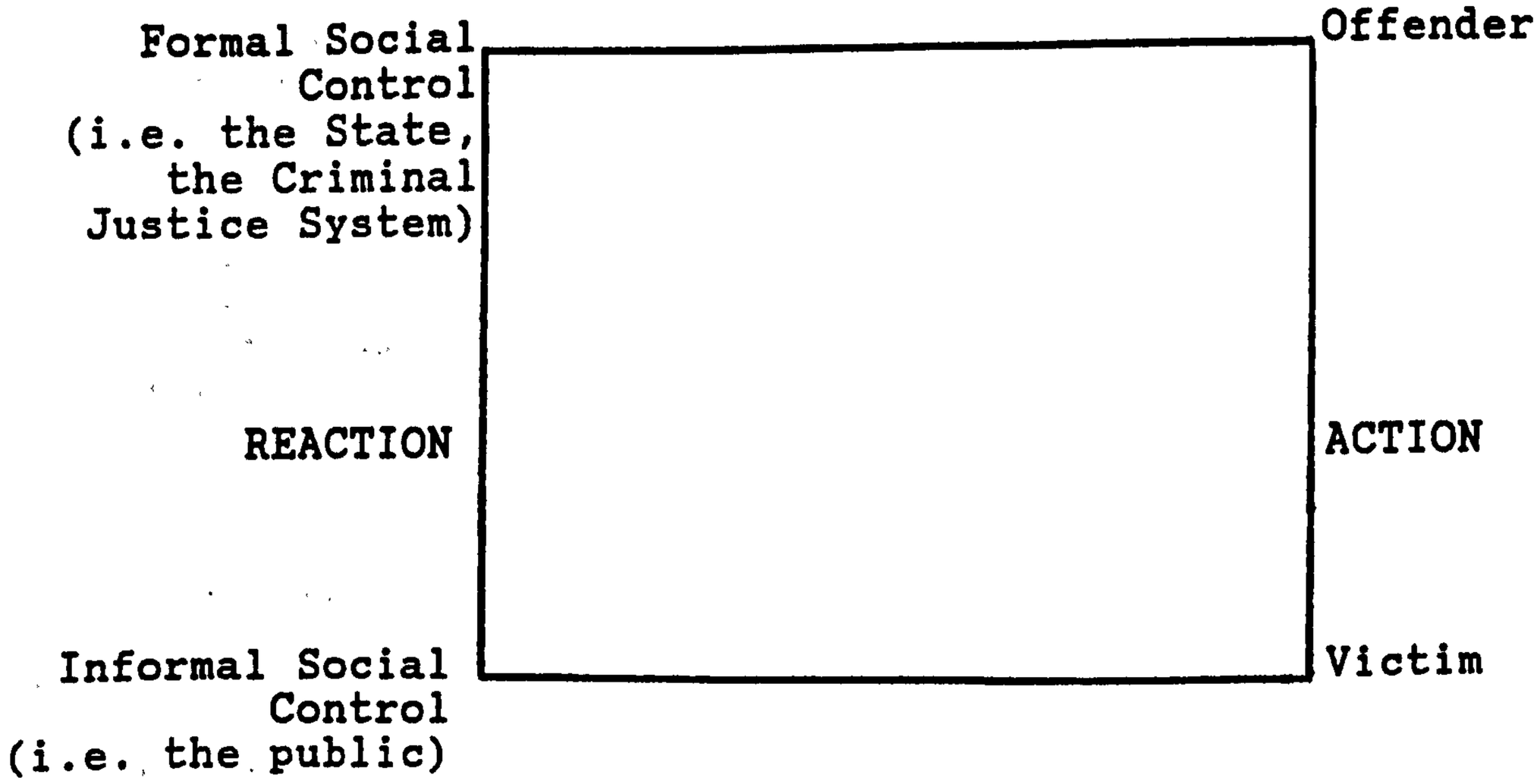
[5] In a subsequent article, however, Jock Young describes radical feminist work as paralleling that of critical criminologists: it is presented as reductionist, 'merely substituting women for the working class as a historical subject' (1994: 81).

FIGURE 1: The Square of Crime



Left realists seek to explain crime in relation to the four points of square and as such they describe previous criminological theories as suffering from the problem of partiality in that they focus on just one part of the square: formal control (as in classicism), informal social control (as in new administrative criminology/ control theory), the offender (as in positivism[6]) or the victim (as in victimology). Realism's approach, therefore, 'emphasises synthesis rather than a simple dismissal of opposing theories' (Young, 1988b: 158) and also attempts, 'to develop a coherent analysis which touches upon these diverse positions' (Matthews and Young, 1992a: 20).

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[6] Positivism, as we saw in Chapter Three, in relation to domestic violence, also focuses on the victim - although often to the extent of seeing her as precipitating the violence (i.e. she is not presented as a 'true' victim in the sense of being blameless).

> Crime as an activity involves moral choice at a certain moment in changing determinant circumstances. It has neither the totally determined quality beloved of positivism, nor the wilful display of rationality enshrined in classicist legal doctrine. It is a moral act, but which must be constantly assessed within a determined social context. It is neither an act of determined pathology, nor an obvious response to desperate situations. (Young, 1994: 106-7).

For left realists human nature is thus a synthesis of free will and determinism. Human behaviour is presented as a problem-solving activity; individuals choose to act in a certain way in response to the structural problems which face them (Ibid). Left realism is, therefore, similar to subcultural theory (see, for example, Cohen, 1965; Willis, 1977). Using this framework, a man who is violent to his wife or girlfriend will be seen as exercising moral choice (free-will) in reaction to certain restricting circumstances. These circumstances are typically considered to be determined by his particular position in the social structure. In general, crime is, 'one form of subcultural adaption which occurs where material circumstances block cultural aspirations and where non-criminal alternatives are absent or less attractive.' (Young, 1994: 111). However, as the offender is exercising moral choice - i.e. has purposively chosen violence as a problem-solving activity - he is seen as fully responsible for his actions. For as Jock Young comments,

> ...mugging, wife-battering, burglary and child abuse are actions which cannot be morally absolved in the flux of determinacy. The offender should be ashamed, he/she should

> feel morally responsible within the limits of circumstance and rehabilitation is truly <u>impossible</u> without this moral dimension. (1986: 28-9, original emphasis).

SOCIAL ORDER

Left realists are critical of the existing social order which is capitalist in structure. Capitalism leads to massive inequalities in the social structure. For the meritocratic system on which capitalism is based results in a contradiction between people's aspirations and their actual opportunities. As Corrigan, Jones, Lloyd and Young put it,

> On the metaphor of the race track: some people start half way along the track, while others are forced to run with a stone about their necks while other still are not allowed on the track at all. The result feeds alienation and discontent. Many of the well-off succeed through the right connections rather than genuine effort: they started at the finishing post. The unsuccessful are rejected from a society which has little respect for them economically or politically. (1988a: 8).

Thus capitalism is presented as creating disorder within society and for left realists crime and social disorder are closely linked: 'the crime rate is not a marginal concern but in many ways the moral barometer of our society, a key indicator as to whether we are getting things right, achieving the sort of society in which people can live with dignity and without fear' (Young 1992b: 33). Domestic violence would, therefore, be considered to indicate a disordered society. For social order to be achieved society must be seen to be fair: 'society is held together to the extent that it is seen by its members as just' (Young, 1994: 116). It is a just politics that is important and

left realists are committed to social democratic reform[7].

DEFINITION

> The definitional issue has always been a stumbling block within criminology. Often criminologists have relied on simplistic definitions of crime and seen it as an 'act', or alternatively they have denied the significance of the act and claimed that it is a function of the 'reaction'. (Matthews and Young, 1992a: 17).

For left realists definition is central to the analysis of crime, thus the difficulties in defining what is 'domestic violence' are acknowledged but seen as part of the necessary structure of what constitutes violence. Realism, with its focus on the square of crime, attempts to understand this 'construction' of crime as a process:

> Crime, it argues, occurs at the intersection of a number of lines of force involving four central elements - the offender, the victim, the state and the public. It recognizes that 'crime' occurs within a certain time-space continuum and that there is nothing intrinsic in the 'act' itself, which defines it as a crime. Changes in crime, therefore, are a function of the changing dynamics of this relational process. (Young and Matthews, 1992a: 10, original emphasis).

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[7] In a number of publications in the late 1980s left realists put forward a socialist view of citizenship which centred on both rights and obligations (see Corrigan et al, 1988a; Corrigan et al, 1988b Corrigan et al, 1989; . It was argued that each citizen has a duty to work towards the creation of a just society. Thus, 'it would be impossible to defend the social individualism of a person who was registered for work but refused both work and training' (Corrigan et al, 1989: 17). However, this remains an undeveloped strand of thought for it is difficult to understand how we can expect the public, or certain sections of the public, to begin to co-operate and contribute to a society in which injustice is currently endemic.

Domestic violence would, therefore, be analysed in a similar way. By focusing on the 'construction' of crime, realists argue that they, 'do not and cannot take or accept official definitions of crime unquestioningly...(nor do they) accept public or commonsense definitions of crime uncritically or adopt essentialist conceptions' (Ibid).

With respect to legalistic definitions of domestic violence (see Chapter Two), it is pointed out that this form of violence, 'can involve a variety of sub-species, each with its own life-cycle' (Young, 1992a: 41). Thus we must be specific about the 'type' of violence involved. Furthermore, as previously noted, there are certain modes of domestic violence, for example, mental cruelty, that fall outside of the legal categories of 'violence'. This, according to left realists, 'suggests the necessity of typologies which cut across legal or formal definitions' (Ibid). Further, these typologies must correspond to people's 'lived realities': the problem with conventional surveys such as the British Crime Surveys is that they utilize objective/ legalistic definitions without taking into account subjective definitions, and, in doing so, 'commonly trivialize(s) that which is important and makes important that which is trivial' (Young, 1988a: 173).

Public definitions of domestic violence, however, are seen as varying according to the values and perceptions of the person doing the defining: what is 'violence' to one person may not necessarily be 'violence' to another. Although all crimes are seen as involving definitional variation - the subjective

component is presented as being greater for violence than property crimes. Moreover, a person's definition of what constitutes violence is likely to be affected by such social factors as gender, age, ethnicity, class and education. For instance, educated women have been found to report more violence in general against them than those with less education (Sparks, 1981). The context in which the violence takes place may also be important (see Young, 1988a). And it is pointed out that definitions of what is intolerable behaviour will change over time (Young, 1994).

Thus, subjective definitions are deemed important for they are necessarily part of what constitutes violence. Furthermore, in line with left realism's democratic approach to understanding crime, it is considered, 'the privilege of various publics to make their own appraisal' (Young, 1988a: 176). However, such a position does not lead to a position of relativism: for left realists note that within and between all social groups there is a wide consensus about what is serious violence and this, 'unity of interest allows us the possibility, both of a common measuring rod, and a political base for taking crime seriously' (Young, 1992a: 59). And it is seen to be not, 'beyond the capabilities of researchers to ask questions of not only reported violent behaviour but to construct tolerance scales towards violence' (Ibid: 58).

EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION

The Construction of Crime Rates

For left realists crime rates, 'are a product...of changes in the number of putative offenders, the number of potential victims, and the changing levels of control exercised by the official agencies of control and the public' (Young, 1992a: 27-28). Thus, in accordance with the emphasis on the construction of crime rates as a process, the rate of crime is presented as resulting from the interaction of the four points of the square of crime. And changes in the crime rate over time, 'may well be a product of an increased sensitivity to violence <u>and</u> a rise in violent behaviour' (<u>Ibid</u>: 28). Rates of domestic violence would, likewise, be calculated in this way: if domestic violence is found to have risen this would be considered as due to changes in definition over time with respect to what is tolerable behaviour within a relationship and an actual increase in domestically violent acts. This is not seen as making, 'it any the less 'real': for this is exactly what crime rates <u>really</u> are' (Young, 1988a: 161, original emphasis). Left realists are, however, fully aware, as we have seen, of the difficulties in defining domestic violence and also of the problems in estimating the number of offences that occur either in a twelve month period or over a greater time scale (Young, 1986; 1988a; 1992a; 1994).

Extent

All forms of violence against women, including that of domestic violence, are presented by left realists as widespread. Indeed as Jock Young comments, 'a typical category of violence in Britain is a man battering his wife' (1986: 22). Official statistics are seen as severely underestimating the scale: domestic violence is frequently not reported to the police by the public for a variety of reasons (for example, embarrassment, fear of reprisals etc.). In the first Islington Crime Survey, conducted by left realists, of all the categories of assault domestic violence was found to be the least likely to be reported to the police (Jones et al, 1986). Moreover, when it is reported domestic violence, along with sexual offences, is particularly susceptible to 'no-criming'. No-criming, the nullifying of a crime report, can occur when, 'the police do not consider an act to be criminal within the legal definitions set out by the criminal code, and sometimes (when) the police recognise the event to be criminal but can see no resolution to it' (Ibid: 37). And, as we have previously noted, 'domestic violence' does not even exist as a category of offence in the official criminal statistics, figures are only available from local police divisions.

Indeed the general problem of the 'dark figure' of crime unknown to the police has led realists to argue that, 'to base criminological theory, or social policy for that matter, on the majority of official figures is an exercise in 'guesstimates' and

tealeaf gazing' (Young, 1988a: 164)[1]. Crime surveys, particularly those based on local areas, are seen as presenting us with a much 'clearer picture' (Young and Matthews, 1992a: 13) of the extent of crime than that available from official statistics. In the first Islington Crime Survey, respondents were asked in detail using sensitive interviewing techniques (see below) about their experiences of domestic violence: an 'alarming proportion of assault' - 22 per cent- was found to be 'domestic in nature' (Jones et al, 1986: 63). However, it is readily admitted by left realists, that, like police figures and for similar reasons, crime surveys are more likely to underestimate domestic violence and sexual offences than all other forms of crime (Crawford et al, 1986). As Young notes, 'domestic crimes are not only less likely to be reported to interviewers, but have in all probability a greater frequency amongst those who refuse interview' (1988a: 169). The chief advantage, then, of the crime survey is that the dark figure is smaller not that it is by, any means, eliminated.

Distribution

Left realists argue that crime is focused both geographically in certain areas, particularly that of the inner city, and socially in certain groups. Thus, 'crime figures which add together low and high crime areas...tend to obscure the

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[1] This is not to suggest, however, that left realists completely reject all official figures or the possibility that they could be reformed (see Young, 1986, 1992a; Mooney, 1992).

pinpointing of crime within the population' (Young, 1988a: 169). There is no such thing as an 'average' victim and local surveys have shown that it is those who are the most 'vulnerable' in society, that is the working-class, women and ethnic minorities, who tend to have the highest rates of crime overall against them. Further most crime is seen as perpetrated by persons from within the victim's own social ranks, for instance,

> ...the vast majority of working class crime is directed within the working class. Similarly, despite the mass media predilection for focusing on inter-racial crime it is overwhelmingly intra-racial. (Young, 1986: 23).

Most conventional crime is, therefore, seen as being intra-class and intra-racial. It occurs within groups not between groups. However, with respect to domestic violence and indeed all forms of violence against women, this is considered to be largely inter- gender. Specifically, it is committed predominantly by men against women: domestic violence and sexual offences, 'are almost exclusively..."female prerogative(s)"' (Young, 1988a: 170).

In terms of social structural distribution, domestic violence is not thought to be evenly or randomly distributed throughout the population. Thus it is considered more prevalent in the lower socio-economic groups: 'crimes of violence, for example, are by and large one poor person hitting another poor person - and in almost half of these instances it is a man hitting his wife or lover' (Young, 1986: 23). Furthermore, the first Islington Crime survey found younger women to have higher rates

of domestic violence against them than those in the older age groups (Jones et al, 1986).

CAUSES

> The present period in criminology is characterized by a retreat from a discussion of wider social causes of offending. With a few notable exceptions (Currie, 1985; Braithwaite, 1979), the social democratic tradition of making the link between social structure and offending is severed. In part, this is a response of establishment criminology to new right governments, which, quite clearly, wish to embrace theories which disconnect their policies from rises in the crime rates...The British school of administrative criminology was doubtful about the validity of causes of 'dispositions' altogether. The realists of the right, such as James Q. Wilson, did not deny that there were causes of crime. Indeed, they outlined a plethora of causes (Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985). Rather, they point to the few 'causes' which can be altered without making social changes which would be politically unacceptable, which stresses the individual rather than the social causes of crime. Travis Hirschi (1969), in his influential 'control theory', abandons causation to the extent that it is identified with motivation. Cause metamorphoses from active desire into absence of restraint. (Young, 1992a: 31).

Left realism, in contrast, is concerned with the social causes of crime. A significant influence on the theory has been the work of Merton (1938) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) on anomie and relative deprivation (see Lea, 1992). Although left realists do not advocate monocausality, it is relative deprivation that is presented as the major cause of crime. As Jock Young comments, it occurs,

> ...when people experience a level of unfairness in their allocation of resources and turn to individualistic means to attempt to right this condition. It is an unjust reaction to the experience of injustice. (1994: 108).

Crime can, therefore, occur anywhere within the social structure, 'it is not the monopoly of the poor' (Ibid); for relative deprivation is experienced throughout the classes[9]. It is not dependent on absolute levels of deprivation: indeed realists stress that the crime rate was low in the 1930s despite extreme levels of poverty[10]. However, as I have noted, left realists emphasize the importance of working-class crime and, as such, it is pointed out that, 'it is among particular segments of the poor, particularly the working class and certain ethnic minorities who are marginalised from the 'glittering prizes' of the wider society, that the push towards crime is greater than elsewhere in the social structure' (Ibid: 107).

This reaction to the experience of relative deprivation is, as we have seen, presented by left realists as worse at certain times of political history than others; thus,

> It was at the heart of the dominant political ethic of mid-nineteenth-century capitalism, in a period which saw the crime rate at its highest in history; it is the ascendent ethos of modern-day Britain, with its rising crime rate; and it is particulary prevalent in the USA, which has by far the highest crime rate of any industrial society. (Ibid: 108-9)

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[9] John Lea (1992), for example, relates the concept of relative deprivation to white collar and corporate crime.

[10] Left realists are here referring to conventional crimes such as burglary or street crime (i.e. those which normally come to public and agency attention). We do not know what the levels of domestic violence were in the 1930s or whether there has been any change over time.

Violence Against Women

Left realists have written little about the specific causes of domestic violence. On violence against women, in general it is acknowledged that the core problem is patriarchy (see Young, 1988a; Painter et al, 1990b). But patriarchy is seen as a social construction and violence socially activated in certain situations. However, the role of biological difference is not rejected out of hand it is merely relegated to the role of an intervening variable. As Young puts it,

> ...left realism does not reject the fact of correlations between biology and crime, whether one is talking about body shape, hormone systems, size, or age. In rejecting biological reduction, (various) theories throw the baby out with the bathwater and reject biology itself. It is a fact that larger, more powerful people commit more violence than smaller people, that male hormones correlate strongly with violence, that the well muscled are more of a threat than the plump and unfit. You do not, after all, cross the street at night to avoid old ladies. Left realism does not deny the correlations between biology and crime: that men are more violent than women, and the young more violent than the old. Rather, it argues that the causes of patriarchal violence against women or the machismo of lower working-class youth are rooted in social situations, not biology, and that the physical capacity to commit crime is merely an intervening variable. (1994: 110).

With respect to the 'social forces' which activate violence, the focus remains on relative deprivation. The experience of relative deprivation is seen as having an important role in the construction of masculinity: 'men frequently react to adversity by creating a culture of machismo which is insensitive to violence and, indeed, in some groups glorifies it' (Young, 1988a: 175). And John Lea argues, that, 'interpersonal "expressive"

violence' should be seen as a way of, 'establishing status in the absence of conventional means and symbols' (1992: 74). Hence, '"crimes of passion" such as homicide, and inter-personal violence such as sexual assault and rape, have a concentration among the poor and deprived and can be seen as arising from the dynamics of relative deprivation' (Ibid: 74-5). To explain this further, Lea makes use of a quotation from Steve Box on the dynamics of rape by men from poor backgrounds,

> When men from this latter group rape they rely primarily on physical violence because this is the resource they command. Being relatively unable to 'wine and dine' females or place them in a position of social debt, and being less able to induce in women a sense of physical and emotional overcomeness these 'socially' powerless men are left with a sense of resentment and bitterness which is fanned and inflamed by cultural sex-role stereotypes of 'successful' men being sexually potent. (Box, 1983: 152). (Ibid: 75).[11]

[11] This quotation is, however, taken out of context: Box argues that men of all classes rape but, 'income inequality...helps us to understand why men commit one type of rape rather than another' (1983: 152). Successful men (i.e. those with wealth, organisational power and social status) are able to use different forms of coercion to achieve 'sexual access' - rather than actual physical violence. Further, Box suggests that,

> ...economic inequality between men helps us to understand why the official population of rapists, that is those legally adjudicated and imprisoned, are characterised by an over-representation of men from oppressed ethnic minorities and the lower or economically marginalized social class. These are just the men who are much more likely to commit those types of rapes - mainly 'anger' and less so 'domination' - which the law recognises as rape and is prepared sometimes, depending on the social characteristics of the victim and the suspect, to prosecute. Commenting on the fact that mainly poor and black men go to prison for rape, whilst others, mainly powerful men get away with it, Greer says that (1975: 379): 'neither the judges nor the prosecuting attorneys are hampered in their dealings by the awareness that they, too, are rapists, only they have more sophisticated methods of compulsion'. (Ibid: 152-3).

For left realists it is the inequalities in capitalist society, together with the competitive individualism that capitalism breeds, that results in relative deprivation and the subsequent utilization of violence.

A Note on the Parallel with Socialist Feminism

The main arguments presented by left realists on violence are similar to those of socialist feminists[11]: both Elizabeth Wilson (1983) and Lynne Segal (1989; 1990) present violence as a result of the frustrations generated by class and racial inequalities. Thus Wilson comments, 'the working-class youth's aggression -"bovver"- becomes a front to conceal his inner desperation and to protect him against a hostile world that condemns him, essentially, to failure' (Ibid: 231). And Lynne Segal argues, in reference to domestic violence, 'what we are confronting here is the barbarism of private life reflecting back to the increased barbarism of public life as contemporary capitalism continues to chisel out its hierarchies along the familiar grooves of class, race and gender' (1990: 271). For socialist feminists,

> It is social cooperation, not excessive individualism, that would form a better basis for social life and for relations between the sexes, and would best meet the needs of most of us, women and men together.

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[11] The family violence researchers have also at times in their flurry of eclecticism put forward a similar analysis of violence to that of left realists (see Smith, 1989).

> None of this will happen so long as our society is run on the profit motive, which is the elevation of greed as the basic social principle. (Wilson, 1983: 242).

IMPACT

> The myth of the equal victim underscores much of conventional victimology with the notion that victims are, as it were, equal billiard balls, and the risk rate involves merely the calculation of the chances of an offending billiard ball impacting upon them. People are, of course, not equal; they are, more or less, vulnerable, depending on their place in society...It is high time, therefore, that we substituted <u>impact</u> statistics for <u>risk</u> statistics. (Young, 1992a: 51-2; original emphasis).

Overall crime is seen as having a substantial impact on people's lives. For example, fear of being victimised shapes people's lives; thus in the first Islington Crime Survey,

> A quarter of all respondents always avoided going out after dark, specifically because of fear of crime, and 28 per cent felt unsafe in their own homes. There was a virtual curfew of a substantial section of the female population - with over one half of women often or always not going out at dark because of fear of crime. (Young, 1988a: 170).

And these fears are presented by left realists as rational: those who fear crime most tend to have the highest risk rates. Moreover, those who are most likely to experience crime - women, ethnic minorities and the working-class - suffer a greater degree of impact because of their relatively 'vulnerable' position in the social structure. They tend to have less access to money and resources and suffer from other social problems. Indeed, it is pointed out,

> If we were to draw a map of the city outlining areas of high infant mortality, bad housing, unemployment, poor nutrition, etc, we would find that all these maps would coincide and that further, the outline traced would correspond to those areas of high criminal victimisation. (Young, 1992a: 52).

The effect of crime is, therefore, seen as compounding with other social problems. With respect to the specific difficulties experienced by women, the Ladywood Crime Survey, conducted by left realists, indicates that,

> Women on poorer council estates and deprived inner city areas bear the brunt of all social problems. This occurs because of gender inequalities in the division of labour within the home and structural inequalities in society. In urban areas, these fundamental inequalities have increased significantly throughout the 1980s. Cuts in public sector expenditure, changes in the structure and organisation of the housing market and the social benefit system, have increased women's unemployment and dependence. These changes also reinforce women's restricted access to community facilities such as child care, transport, education and health. (Painter et al, 1990b: 27-8).

In this context, domestic violence would be considered by realists to have a considerable impact on women's lives in terms of the actual violence experienced and in compounding the specific problems encountered by women. As Young comments, 'crime in the home occurs within a relationship of economic dependency: the woman - particularly if she has children - cannot walk away' (1988a: 175). A poor or inappropriate response from the police or other help-seeking agencies is also considered to add to the impact of the violence (Young, 1992b). Furthermore, domestic violence is seen as occurring, 'within an emotional bond, which gives it all the more hurtful poignancy' (Young, 1988a: 175).

Empirical Data on the Impact of Domestic Violence

The first Islington Crime survey (Jones et al, 1986) asked women in detail about the impact that domestic violence had on them. 96 per cent of those with experience of domestic violence reported that it had a 'very big effect' on them and their households. The following table shows the type of violent behaviours reported, the degree of injuries, weapons used and the help sought from general practitioners. These results provide an insight into the scale and effects of domestic violence.

TABLE 1: Findings From the First Islington Crime Survey, % of those experiencing domestic violence

	%
Type of violence:	
Grabbed/ pushed	75
Punched/ slapped	92
Kicked	57
Weapon used	20
Raped	-
Attempted rape	0.7
Sexually assaulted	2
Other	6
Injury sustained:	
Bruises/ black eyes	97
Scratches	62
Cuts	45
Broken bones	10
Other	15
Type of weapon:	
Bottle or glass	33
Knife or scissors	21
Stick, club or blunt object	28
Firearm	-
Other	17
Reasons for attending doctor, % of those reporting	
Physical injuries	94
Difficulty sleeping	35
Worried, anxious, nervous	46
Felt depressed	40
Shock	41
Headaches	37
Nausea	24
Other	5

Source: Ibid: 172-174

METHODS

The method most commonly associated with left realists is the local crime survey. Left realists have been responsible for a number of local surveys, for example, the Merseyside Crime Survey (Kinsey, 1985), Islington Crime Survey (Jones et al, 1986), Broadwater Farm Survey (Lea et al, 1986), Hilldrop Environmental Improvement Project (Lea et al, 1988; Jones et al, 1991), Hammersmith and Fulham Crime and Policing Survey (Painter et al, 1989), the West Kensington Estate Survey (Painter et al, 1990a), Second Islington Crime Survey (Crawford et al, 1990), Ladywood Crime and Community Survey (Painter et al, 1990b) and Mildmay Crime Survey (Jones et al, 1990). Many of these surveys have been commissioned and funded by socialist local authorities[13]. The local crime survey is seen by left realists as,

> ...a democratic instrument: it provides a reasonably accurate portrayal of people's fears and of their experience of victimization...Social surveys...allow us to give voice to the experience of people, and they enable us to differentiate the safety needs of different sectors of the community. (Young, 1992a: 50).

In terms of structure, local crime surveys, like the national British Crime surveys conducted by new administrative criminologists (Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Hough and Mayhew, 1985;

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[13] For instance, the first Islington (Jones et al, 1986), Hilldrop (Lea et al, 1988; Jones et al, 1991) and Mildmay (Jones et al, 1990) Crime Surveys were financed by Islington Council; Broadwater Farm Survey (Lea et al, 1986) by Haringey Council; the Hammersmith and Fulham (Painter et al, 1989) and West Kensington Estate (Painter et al, 1990a) Surveys by Hammersmith and Fulham Council.

Mayhew et al, 1989; Mayhew et al, 1993 - see Chapter Two), make use of face-to-face interviews and structured questionnaires to obtain information from a sample of the population about crimes that have been committed against them. However, unlike national surveys, the local survey is focused on specific areas - usually inner-city locations. Left realists, as we have seen, argue that national surveys are unable to deal with the fact that crime is focused geographically in certain areas and socially amongst particular groups of people (see Lea and Young, 1984; Young, 1988a; Young, 1992a). The use of large samples in the local crime surveys enables the experience and impact of crime to be broken down in terms of its social focus. That is on social groups based on the combination of age, gender, social class and ethnicity. Such a high level of focusing is considered to correspond, 'more closely to the lived realities of different groups and sub-cultures of the population' (Young, 1992a: 38). Indeed it is pointed out,

> ...just as it is inaccurate to generalise about crime and policing from gross figures based on large geographical areas, it is incorrect, even within particular areas, to talk in terms of, for example, 'all' young people, 'all' women, 'all' blacks, 'all' working-class people, etc. Generalizations which remain on such global levels frequently obfuscate quite contradictory experiences, generating statistics which often conceal vital differences of impact. (Ibid: 39). [11]

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[11] Thus, in the Second Islington Crime Survey (Crawford et al, 1992) left realists found,

> ...how the introduction of age into the analysis of fear of crime by gender changes the usual generality of men having a low fear of crime and women high. In fact, older women have a fear of crime rather like men in the middle age group, and younger women have a fear rather like old men. And, in the case of footstops by

In their endeavour to explore the total process of crime - the four points of the square of crime - left realists have also widened the usual scope of the crime survey. They incorporate a wide range of questions on victimisation, including racial and sexual harassment, domestic violence (first Islington Crime Survey), child abuse (Second Islington Crime Survey) and commercial crimes (Second Islington Crime Survey); self-report questions on offences committed; public evaluation of the police and other agencies (e.g. local council, victim support schemes), belief about police illegalities, attitudes to the punishment appropriate to various crimes, avoidance behaviours and so on. Indeed, Young suggests the range of the local survey could be extended further: 'for example, it would be quite easy to add to a criminal victimisation survey, a medical epidemiological questionnaire in order to measure the prevalence of illness caused by chemical pollution' (Young and Matthews, 1992a: 14).

Researching Violence Against Women

In the very difficult area of violence against women, left realists, influenced by the work of feminists (in particular that of Russell, 1982; Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Hall, 1985), stress

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the police, it becomes evident that differentials based on race are much more complicated than the abstraction that blacks are more likely to be stopped than whites. No older black women in our sample were stopped. Young, white, women were over three times more likely to be stopped than older black men. And even the differential between young black men and young white men becomes remarkably narrowed when class is introduced into the equation. (Young, 1992a: 39).

the necessity of using committed, sympathetic interviewers to gain more reliable results (Young, 1988a; Young and Matthews, 1992a). Indeed the first Islington Crime Survey utlized a number of the methodological innovations outlined by Russell in Rape in Marriage (1982), for interviewing respondents in the crime survey situation; these included:

- an interview schedule designed to encourage good rapport
- selection of interviewers based on interviewing skills
- extensive training of interviewers in relation to sexual assault (and also domestic violence) and its investigation in the field
- utilization of an indirect questioning procedure which would help to reduce embarrassment or difficulty of relating the incident directly to the interviewer (Jones et al, 1986: 69).

Young, further, emphasises the importance of carefully worded questions: for, 'there is a world of difference between simply asking the interviewee if she has been raped (as do most conventional surveys), and defining rape as 'sexual intercourse without consent' (1988a: 168) [15].

Overall crime surveys are presented by realists as a, 'major advance in the techniques available to both criminology and policy science' (Young, 1988a: 165). Local crime surveys are particularly useful in terms of providing an input into where crime control policy should be directed. For,

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[15] However, many of the local surveys conducted by left realists, including the first Islington Crime Survey (Jones et al, 1986), retain the word 'rape'.

> The victimization survey accurately provides a map of the problems of an area...It pinpoints which social groups within the population face the greatest risk rates and geographically pinpoints where these occurrences most frequently occur. In this it directs crime prevention initiatives towards those people and places which are most at risk. (Young, 1992a: 51).

However, whilst the conducting of local surveys is an essential aspect of left realism, realists are aware that this particular method of research has certain limitations. Thus, it is pointed out,

> ...although questionnaire schedules appear objective they display the subjective values of the social scientist and are differently interpreted according to the subjective values of each subgroup. To take the values of the social scientist first: the menu of possible answers allowed the interviewee is determined by the questionnaire. In the most obvious instances, they tend to view the modal victimization as akin to burglary. That is a clear, distinct event - the sort of crime that would occur against a middle-aged, middle-class, male researcher. Incessant crime, such as many aspects of domestic violence, is scarcely grasped by this method. Similarly, the schedules are obsessed with fear of crime when, perhaps, a truer reflection of many subgroups might be anger. (Young and Matthews, 1992a: 15).

An additional difficulty is that surveys, like official statistics although to a lesser extent, have a 'dark figure' of crime in terms of non-response from the sample member. Most surveys - national and local - have a non-response rate of twenty per cent or above resulting from refusals or failure to contact the sample member. There is, therefore, a fifth to one quarter of the sample whose victimisation is unknown. Young acknowledges that such a large unknown population could easily skew the findings of the survey and, 'at the most obvious level, it probably includes a disproportionate number of transients, of

lower working class people hostile to officials with clipboards attempting to ask them about their lives, and of those who are most frightened to answer the door because of fear of crime' (1988a: 169). Indeed a subsidiary study for the Second Islington Crime Survey showed that refusers were more likely to have been the victims of crime in the last twelve months than those who agreed to take part (Crawford et al, 1990).

Amongst those interviewed it is also suggested that a 'dark figure' exists with respect to those crimes that are not revealed to the interviewer 'out of fear or embarrassment' (Young, 1988a: 168). And, as we have seen, this is considered to be a particular problem with respect to domestic violence. Most of the surveys also tend to focus on the last twelve months mainly to enable results to be compared to official statistics. However, as Young notes,

> ...people's attitudes to crime are built up during their life, and without 'have ever' questions - like those used by Ruth Hall in her 1985 study - this aspect is lost. Many victimization studies, therefore, have a dark figure, not only partially in terms of the present, but also totally in terms of the past. (Ibid: 168).

Finally, realism argues that,

> ...the (dark) figure is not only quantitatively high...but that it is flexible - it expands or contracts with the values one brings to it. None of this is insurmountable but only within a paradigm capable of analysing crime, both as a product of behaviour and value. (Young, 1988c: 180).

> Realism insists that intervention in the control of crime should occur at all points of the square of crime (state agencies, public involvement, the structural causes of offending and victim support). Coercive legal interventions on the level of the state are necessary, interventions directed at the social causes of crime are vital. In addition, to complete the square of crime, the role of informal control is stressed, as is support, protection and mobilization of the victim. (Young and Matthews, 1992: 3)[16].

Thus left realists are critical of those approaches that focus on just one part of the process: it is argued that whilst more effective policing or more jobs or public mobilization through Neighbourhood Watch Schemes or the target-hardening of buildings may make some gains, 'intervention on one level alone - even if effective - will inevitably have declining marginal gains' (Young, 1992a: 41). It is a 'multi-pronged strategy' (Ibid) that is necessary - although it is pointed out that interventions at the level of the social structure will generally prove the most effective. For domestic violence to be combatted intervention needs to be made on all levels.

Realists are, therefore, committed to multi-agency crime control policy, the, 'planned, coordinated response of the major social agencies to problems of crime and incivilities' (Young, 1992b: 64). Social control in industrial societies is seen to

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[16] In arguing for intervention to occur both at the level of the criminal justice system - for certain crimes - and the social structure, left realism has been accused of either being too classicist or too social positivist in its approach to crime control (see Young and Matthews, 1992a).

be, 'by its very nature, a multi-agency task' and 'the various agencies are mutually dependent on each other, and each agency is dependent on public support, whether it is an agency dealing with domestic violence, child abuse, or juvenile delinquency' (Ibid: 64). However, the particular configuration of agencies involved will differ according to the crime and the stage in which it is being tackled - this is demonstrated in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Agencies Involved in Crime Control

Stages in the Development of Crime	Factors	Agencies
Causes of crime	Unemployment Housing Leisure	Local authority Central government Business
The moral context	Peer group values Community cohesion	Schools Family Public Mass media
The situation of commission	Physical environment Lighting Home security	Local authority Public Police
The detection of crime	Public reporting Detective work	Public Police
The response to offenders	Punishment Rehabilitation	Courts Police Social services Probation
The response to the victim	Insurance Public support	Local authority Victim support groups Public Social services

Source: Ibid: 65

Thus, with respect to domestic violence, left realists, 'would ask what agencies should be involved against what type of domestic violence and at what point of its development' (Young and Matthews, 1992a: 6). And such a multi-agency format must be democratic in nature: 'we must establish a structure in which different agencies, and the victims themselves, have an equal voice in deciding the outcome' (Lea, 1987: 367).

Left realists have written specifically on the treatment of domestic violence by the criminal justice system and the mass media. On the criminal justice system, left realists have pointed out that its response to domestic violence is inadequate (see Kinsey et al, 1986) and have argued that the 'net' should be widened in this area (and also for child abuse, racial attacks etc.) whilst being reduced for other crimes, such as minor drug offences (see Young, 1992a; 1994). Legal intervention in domestic violence may well prove an effective means of social control, as well as assisting with the protection of the victim. However, it needs to be backed-up with support from other agencies, for as Lea notes,

> In some situations the ability or willingness of victims to utilize the resources of the Criminal Justice System is dependent on assistance from other agencies. A women, for example, who prosecutes her husband for violence carries an enormous emotional burden combined with the risk of losing economic support. Therefore, even when an issue is one of serious crime there is a need for the presence of non-criminal justice agencies of an advisory and supportive role to also have an interest in the situation. (1987: 367).

In terms of the mass-media - the moral context of the crime (see Table 2) - the 'barrage of mis-information' about crime generated by the mass-media is considered to have an impact, for whilst,

> ...a typical category of violence in Britain is a man battering his wife...this is rarely represented in the mass media - instead we have numerous examples of professional criminals engaged in violent crime-a quantitatively minor problem when compared to domestic violence. So presumably the husband can watch criminal violence on television and not see himself there. His offence does not exist as a category of media censure. (Young, 1986: 22).

Realists would argue for an accurate portrayal of domestic violence in the mass media to underscore the fact that it is both widespread and a 'criminal' offence; this might impact on offenders and also encourage family and community support for victims and public condemnation of offenders.

However, for left realists, it is <u>politics</u> that is of upmost importance in the control of all forms of crime:

> Crime involves politics: it does so because it is politics which determines the social conditions which cause crime, the degree to which the justice system is egalitarian, and the definition of what are crimes in the first place. (Young, 1994: 117).

The present capitalist economic system is seen as creating the conditions for crime; as Young comments, even criminologists on the Right recognise this: '(James Q.) Wilson basically contends that if one wants the benefits of American capitalism, then one must put up with a certain (high) level of crime' (<u>Ibid</u>). For

left realists we need to create a more just society, 'it is only where justice is seen to be done that the main springs of crime are severed' (Ibid: 118) and, as we have noted above, they believe this will be achieved through social democratic reform.

In the latter part of this chapter I will indicate how many of the theoretical and methodological principles of left realism have informed the approach taken in this thesis. For example, in terms of the problematic nature of the social construction of definition, the endemic nature of violence against women and its differential and compounding impact. There are, however, certain problems with realism which must first be examined.

Criticisms[17]

PROBLEMS OF THEORY

Gelsthorpe and Morris point out that whilst left realists acknowledge the influence of feminist work and,

> ...examine gender differences in perceptions of risk, fears for personal safety, avoidance behaviours and victimisation and show not only that women are more fearful than men, but that they have good reason for this...There is a startling omission: they ignore the significance of gender relations

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[17] This section focuses on realism's treatment of violence against women. Criticisms of other aspects of left realism have been dealt with in detail elsewhere (see Sim et al, 1987; Jefferson et al, 1991; Matthews and Young, 1992b; Young and Matthews, 1992b; Mawby and Walklate, 1994).

> as a central factor in understanding most crimes against women and make no reference to a key concept for a feminist understanding of these crimes: male power. It is never made explicit that women's fear of crime is women's fear of men. (1988: 103).

Thus left realism is described as 'gender-blind' (Edwards, 1989; Scraton, 1990) and 'tokenistic' (Radford and Kelly, 1987) in its approach to women and paying, 'at times...extensive lip service only' (DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1991: 158) to feminism. Documenting the extent of violence against women does not adequately address feminist concerns; as Brown and Hogg comment,

> ...what much feminist research and analysis has demonstrated is that an adequate understanding and response to violence against women is not to be found in the exposure of one more 'crime problem' and the connection between work in this area and the study of crime in general or the traditional methods of criminology, but in locating it in an analysis of the family and gender relations. (1992: 159).

Left realism, as we have seen, does not fully explore the influence of either societal or familial patriarchy. Indeed, left realism generally lacks an analysis of power -whether in terms of male power, as experienced in interpersonal relationships, or structural power in the hands of the state (see Sim et al, 1987; Jefferson et al, 1991; Taylor, 1992; Walklate, 1992d)[18]. Although the state forms one corner of the square of crime, it is the role of the criminal justice system that is

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[18] Currie (1991) and DeKeseredy (1991, 1992) also note that left realism has neglected crimes of the powerful against women, for example, by the pharmaceutical industry: 'women...are killed annually as a direct result of contraceptive and other unsafe 'feminine' products' (Currie, 1991: 25).

mostly discussed.

Further, left realism's early focus was largely on 'mugging', thefts and other types of street crime (see Lea and Young, 1984) which has led to an overwhelming emphasis on working class experience and the development of an economically-based theory of crime causation. As Ian Taylor notes, such a class-based analysis has resulted in the viewing of female victims as, 'honorary members of the core working-class' (1992: 106). By not examining patriarchy and in concentrating on the lower socio-economic groups and intra-class crime, realism, 'does not deal "seriously", we may say -to appropriate a left realist use of terms - with the independent importance of patriarchy and sexual inequality across the social formation as a whole' (Ibid). Violence against women is not class-specific: domestic violence occurs throughout the class structure. And relative deprivation - whilst being a useful explanatory concept for street crime - does not, as DeKeseredy puts it, 'adequately answer an important question: why do men victimize women in patriarchal, capitalist societies?' (1992: 267, my emphasis). Thus, although emphasising the importance of specificity, realism falls back on general, all encompassing, concepts to explain crime - the underlying assumption is that all crimes, whether they be street crime, burglary, pub-fights or domestic violence, are essentially the same. Moreover, with respect to its long-term policy goals, changes in the economic structure of society, as pointed out in the proceeding chapter, may not necessarily lead to changes in the patriarchal social order.

Left realism also does not adequately cover the 'lived realities' of women's experiences. DeKeseredy comments, that the theory fails to analyse, 'variations in woman abuse across marital status categories' which is, 'surprising since Young contends that "a realist criminology must start from the actual subgroups in which people live their lives, rather than the broad categories which conceal wide variations within them" (1988a: 171)' (1992: 267). Further, the coping and resisting strategies adopted by victims are largely ignored (see Walklate, 1992c and d; Ruggiero, 1992) - strategies which, as we have seen, are well-documented in the radical feminist literature. As Walklate argues the realist,

> ...view of the individual (victim) varies somewhat; one passively adapting, the other consciously aware and to be taken seriously. Both images have been constructed within a structurally defined framework, but one is descriptive and the other more explanatory. Neither of these understandings of structure, however, facilitates an understanding of how individuals actively resist or campaign against their structural conditions...There is a good deal of evidence to support the argument that individuals do actively resist or campaign against their structural powerlessness. Much of the in-depth work produced by the feminist movement with and for women illustrates this and has seen the parallel emergence of support networks for survivors of domestic violence, incest and rape. These responses to structural powerlessness are defined collectively and challenge patriarchy. (1992d: 113-4).

PROBLEMS OF METHOD

Left realists have favoured local crime surveys. However, as we have seen, they acknowledge that the use of face-to-face, door-step interviews, even with sensitive interviewing techniques, and a concern with the whole gamut of crime, is

likely to lead to an underestimation of domestic and sexual violence against women, more than all other forms of crime (Crawford et al, 1990). Thus, whilst they claim that the first Islington Crime Survey, 'discovered that an alarming proportion of assault - 22% - is domestic in nature' (Jones et al, 1986: 63), this, in fact, translates to an incidence rate (number of incidents uncovered) of just eight per cent. The prevalence rate (the number of women affected) would be even lower because of the probability of multiple victimisation. Although this is a higher percentage than that generated by the national British Crime Surveys (see Chapter Two), the dark figure of domestic violence is still likely to be considerable and, as such, conclusions drawn with respect to its distribution must be treated with caution. As Walklate points out, 'the private domain is much more difficult to penetrate by formal interview means, not only because of the nature and dynamics of the interview procedure but also because this involves penetrating the everyday realities of women's experience' (1989: 33).

Moreover, an approach which mainly focuses on the collection of quantitative data cannot fully explore the nature of women's experiences: surveys do not, 'necessarily offer a 'real' picture, a totality of that individual's response to the incidents...she is reporting' (Walklate, 1992c: 290)[19]. There is a need for the collection of qualitative data, through in-depth interviews: this would enable, for example, the examination of the coping and

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[19] This is not to suggest, however, that realists are unaware of the importance of qualitative methods (see Young and Matthews, 1992a).

resistance strategies employed by women in response to male violence. As Sayer argues,

> ...with a less formal, less standardized and more interactive kind of interview, the researcher has a much better chance of learning from the respondents what the different significances of the circumstances are for them. The respondents are not forced into an artificial one-way mode of communication in which they can only answer in terms of the conceptual grid given to them by the researcher. (1984: 223).

Qualitative research must, therefore, be incorporated within the realist method, if it is to truly reflect the reality of crime and correspond to people's 'lived realities'. Qualitative data also helps with the interpretation of quantitative data (see Jupp, 1988) and, 'to move from the discovery of correlations to the imputation of social causality' (Young and Matthews, 1992a: 15). For to understand causality one must comprehend the meanings and decisions of the actors involved. Correlation merely tells one about the juxtaposition and the possibility of social causality. It does not prove causality, it merely insinuates it. And such an insinuation may be right off the mark; high correlation, for example, may be completely fortuitous and of no causal significance; low correlation may occlude actual causation which occurs in a few instances where the right combination of circumstances occur. Qualitative methods can allow us to put the causal flesh on the bones of the empirical findings which the mass survey provides us with.

Finally, left realism has been criticised for an absence of reflexivity in the research process (Ruggiero, 1992; Currie,

1992): as Ruggiero argues,

> Their square of crime should...evolve into a pentagon, the fifth vertex being occupied by the observers...The realists lack the kind of reflexivity which would be necessary to explain the social condition of the existence of their own discipline and its role in constructing and shaping social problems. They do not consider how their own subjectivity and their own role may influence their 'realistic' depiction of social phenomena. (1992: 136, 138, original emphasis).

5.2 BUILDING ON FEMINISM AND LEFT REALISM

The first task of this thesis was to examine systematically each of the theoretical traditions *in terms of their ability* to explain and tackle domestic violence. As should be clear from this exposition, it is the work of radical feminists and left realists which has the greatest purchase on the phenomenon. Both strands have much to contribute and my immediate task is to suggest what can be gleaned from each tradition as a prelude to the empirical sections of the thesis and in order to move towards the creation of a synthesis - a feminist realism - within criminology[10].

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[10] Several commentators have pointed out that realism has much to gain from a closer consideration of feminist arguments (see Edwards, 1989; Currie, 1991, 1992; Walklate, 1992c and d; Aluwalia, 1992). Indeed Aluwalia regards the left realist and feminist positions on fear of crime to be of such a similar nature that, 'the way forward would surely be to cultivate cooperation rather than to proceed in isolation from each other' (1992: 259). And Sandra Walklate (1992c) suggests that both feminism and realism may prove relevant in the construction of a critical victimology.

Let us briefly look at the major insights from each position following the framework I have used throughout:

1. HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIAL ORDER

Both positions are constructionist in that they see human beings as being constructed by capitalism and by patriarchy respectively and it has been the task of socialist feminists to attempt to bring together these macro-structures of power. Of great relevance to our thesis is the radical feminist contention that violence is central to the maintaining of patriarchal order, a notion which can tentatively be melded with the realist stress on capitalism as creating differential levels of vulnerability within society. For if radical feminism points to the causes of domestic violence within the social order, realism can perhaps help to explain why men are able to get away with such violence and the factors that prevent women from leaving men[11].

2. DEFINITION

If radical feminism alerts us to the fact that what constitutes 'domestic violence' is not a given, taken-for-granted construct but one which is subject to male-oriented definitions, realism generalises this and stresses the problematic nature of <u>all</u>

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[11] This is not, of course, to suggest that radical feminists overlook the impact that women's structural and material circumstances have on their victimisation, it is just that realists link this more systematically to the capitalist social order.

social problems. Definition is always up for grabs: for the central contention in realism is the dyadic nature of crime and deviance. Furthermore, there are no monolithic definitions of what constitutes a problem whatever base one takes as defining domestic violence, whether it be that of men, women or any subgroup therein. An initial task, therefore, of our study is to establish to what <u>extent</u> there is a consensus of definition amongst women and what are the limits of this consensus.

3. EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION

Although both radical feminism and left realism agree as to the widespread nature of violence against women, there is a lack of clarity as to how such violence is distributed by class, age and ethnicity. For example, there is a tendency in radical feminism to view domestic violence as evenly spread throughout the social structure, whereas, realists point to a differential distribution particularly in relation to class. The latter contention is, however, by no means clear: relative deprivation can in a realist analysis occur throughout the class structure whilst the length of time a woman remains in a violent relationship or moves out before violence ensues may well be class related. The distribution and extent of domestic violence is thus a key issue which must be explored.

4. IMPACT

Both radical feminists and realists stress the considerable impact of violence on women's lives but whereas radical feminists tend to see male violence as a central pillar in patriarchy and in the control and restriction of women, realists stress a greater differentiation of impact. With this in mind the contours of the impact of domestic and non-domestic violence on women's lives by social group and public and private space are examined in this thesis. Of further interest here is the exploration of the coping and resisting strategies stressed by feminist researchers.

5. METHODS

As we have seen, there has been a tendency for radical feminists to favour qualitative methods and realists to emphasise the utility of the quantitative victimisation study. There is, however, nothing inherent in either position to generate such a dichotomous approach and the emphasis in this research is on the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. As Jupp comments, 'the use of different methods...maximizes the theoretical value of any research by revealing aspects of phenomena which the use of one method alone would miss' (1989: 74).

Both radical feminism and left realism stress the importance of using sensitive research methods. Radical feminists, in

particular, emphasize the necessity of providing help-line cards and agency referrals when interviewing women about their experiences of violence.

6. POLICY

Ultimately for both radical feminists and left realists change would have to occur at the level of the social structure (in terms of the ordering of society along patriarchal and capitalist lines, respectively) for there to be a considerable reduction, or even an end, to domestic violence and both would argue that political commitment is necessary to bring about this change. However, in the meantime there are various measures that can be adopted to alleviate the problem, for example, with adroit use of the criminal justice system and the development of multi-agency approaches. Indeed Susan Edwards notes that those, 'left-wing feminists who turn to an improved police response, better laws and a more sympathetically trained police force, judiciary and magistracy as part of a wider set of demands for reform, may loosely be seen to identify with left realism' (1989: 15)[11]. Thus, in this thesis, short-term policy initiatives are considered and a subsidiary study has been conducted on the police, a lead agency in dealing with domestic violence, to examine their response to this area. The findings of the latter study are summarised in Appendix VII.

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[11] It was Edwards who first utilized the term 'feminist realist' to describe this group.

The methodological and theoretical consequences detailed above will therefore be utilized: a) to inform the methodology for the empirical study of the prevalence of domestic violence (Chapters Six to Nine), b) to generate a series of predictions to be tested from all the theoretical traditions discussed (Chapter 10) and, c) to assist in the development of policy (Chapter 11).

CHAPTER 6

THE RESEARCH PROJECT: BACKGROUND AND METHODS USED

A survey of 1,000 individuals, the North London Domestic Violence Survey, the largest survey of domestic violence so far conducted in this country, forms the major component of the research project. This study made use of qualitative, as well as quantitative methods and its main focus was on women's experiences of violence from husbands or boyfriends, including ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends, although information was also collected on other forms of domestic and non-domestic violence experienced by both men and women. A smaller scale study was additionally conducted on the police response to domestic violence and involved in-depth interviews with police officers and women who had contacted the police.

6.1 THE NORTH LONDON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SURVEY

6.1.1 Defining Domestic Violence

As we have seen in the discussion of the various theoretical traditions, one of the first issues that needs to be confronted in researching this subject is that of definition. There is a lack of consistency between researchers, policy makers, members of the public and so on over the relationships and types of

behaviour that should be included under the rubric of 'domestic violence' and considerable debate over whether the term should be used at all (see, for example Bograd, 1988; Smith, 1989; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991).

With respect to relationships, 'domestic' can quite clearly be referring to violence that occurs in the context of marriage or co-habitation, between siblings, between parent and child, in heterosexual and in gay and lesbian relationships. It can, in addition, be used to cover pre-domestic relationships, for example, dating relationships, and post-domestic relationships as in the case of ex-partners who are no longer living together. 'Domestic violence' has been the term most favoured in policy-making circles because it is seen as covering all domestic relationships (Smith, 1989). Many commentators (e.g. Brokowski et al, 1983), however, argue for more specific terminology. For, although 'domestic violence' may be useful as a contrast to 'stranger violence', serving to highlight the fact that a large amount of violence occurs in domestic relationships, its generality is not helpful with regards to theoretical or policy concerns. It is necessary to identify the specific relationships involved, as each type may involve different factors and have different needs which will have to be matched by specific policies. More importantly, as feminist researchers point out, 'domestic violence' is a gender-neutral term and as such fails to clarify who is the victim and who is the perpetrator, masking the fact that women are most frequently subjected to violence by men. It is for this reason that various researchers prefer to

use terms such as 'wife battering', 'wife abuse' or 'woman abuse' in order to emphasize against whom the violence is directed (Bograd, 1988; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991)[1]. Edwards (1989) and Walklate (1992a and 1992b) have in their work enclosed 'domestic' in inverted commas to acknowledge its problematic character, particularly in the light of the controversial work of the family violence researchers, led by Murray Straus of the University of New Hampshire, which denies the gender dimensions to this subject (see, for example, Straus and Gelles, 1986; 1988). In this project the gendered nature of much domestic violence is emphasised and I have tried to be as specific as possible in clarifying the relationships involved. The term 'domestic violence' has been retained for convenience purposes only, as information has been collected on violence in a wide range of relationships including parent and child, between siblings and against women in dating relationships.

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[1] Jan Pahl, however, argues that 'violent husbands' might be more appropriate than 'battered wives'; for in using the latter term, 'it is rather as though the problem of international terrorists hijacking aeroplanes was described as 'the problem of hostages' (1985: 5). She sees 'battered wives' as serving,

> ...to shift attention from the instigators of the violence to its victims, and the shift tends to make it easy to blame the victim for the problem and to encourage a search for solutions among the victims rather than among violent partners. (And) this misnaming is probably no accident. A great many people hold to the view that battered women are somehow responsible for what has happened to them, and this view is expressed in statements as 'the woman must have done something to deserve it' or 'the woman must enjoy it really, otherwise she would leave'. (Ibid).

The second problem of definition relates to 'violence': what is it that constitutes 'violence'? This has two levels: how the different researchers define violence and the various definitions that women themselves make. It is abundantly clear that different rates of domestic violence will be calculated depending on the yardstick the researcher uses. Is a shove, for example, domestic violence or not? What is the status of threats of violence or mental cruelty? Some researchers have preferred to confine their attention mainly to physical behaviours: Bograd, for example, in Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse states that:

> Wife abuse is defined in this volume as the use of physical force by a man against his intimate cohabiting partner.... Violence may qualitatively change the nature of intimate relationships, even if they were characterised previously by the presence of severe psychological abuse. Violence threatens the physical safety and bodily integrity of the woman, and intensifies and changes the meanings of threats and humiliation. (1988: 12, my emphasis).

Gelles and Cornell - although presenting a different theoretical position to Bograd[1] - likewise restrict their definition arguing that, 'from a practical point of view, lumping all forms of maievolence and harm-doing together may muddy the waters so much that it might be impossible to determine what causes abuse' (1985:23). The implication is that physical violence is worse than psychological abuse/ mental cruelty. Walker (1979), however, reported in her study that most of the women described verbal humiliation as their worst experience of

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[1] Gelles and Cornell are associated with the family violence approach.

battering, irrespective of whether physical violence had been used. The North London Domestic Violence Survey starts from the premise that mental cruelty, threats, sexual abuse, physical violence and any other form of controlling behaviour used against a woman by her husband or boyfriend are all domestic violence, are serious and merit individual investigation. This has been reflected in the questions asked. It is also made clear throughout what definition is being used with respect to the various categories of domestic violence and the different rates which result from any given definition.

Furthermore, respondents themselves will vary -like the researcher- in defining what constitutes 'real' violence (see Kelly, 1988a). Some respondents will define a push or shove as physical violence, whereas others will not. The values held by the respondent are likely to be affected by their gender, age, ethnicity, class and education. For this reason the very first question in the self-complete questionnaire (Stage 2 of the research) establishes women's definitions of violence and the level of consensus that exists amongst women with respect to any given definition. Subsequent questions are based on separating out the prevalence and incidence of the various forms of domestic violence. Qualitative interviews have, in addition, been incorporated into the project to examine in more depth how women define their experiences.

6.1.2 The Method Used

The method used was essentially a variation of the victimisation survey, adapted to try to deal with the specific problems involved in researching domestic violence, for example, those of definition, fear of reprisals (i.e. the perpetrator may be near to the interview situation), embarrassment and so on (see Walklate, 1989). The intention was to combine and build on those aspects of left realist and radical feminist work that constitute the basis of a good research practice.

Pilot Work

Before commencing this project, two pilot studies were conducted in 1990 and 1991 at separate locations involving a total sample of 100 individuals. The main purpose of the pilots was to test the use of supplementary self-complete questionnaires (see Stage 2, below). This resulted in revisions to the questionnaire and field work strategies. A report of this work was presented to Islington Council's Police Sub-Committee (Mooney, 1991) - see also Problems of Mass Media Coverage, Appendix V.

The Research Proper

The North London Domestic Violence Survey involved three stages, but before the first stage could commence a sample had to be constructed, an interviewing team selected and a questionnaire designed.

Sampling

In order to construct the sample, the Post Office Address File was employed as the sampling frame. This is considered to be superior to the Register of Electors, which has often been used as the sampling frame for victimisation surveys, as it is updated every three months and does not suffer from the under-representation of minority groups. It has been established that the Register of Electors excludes about four per cent of private households, in particular those with young people, the unemployed, ethnic minorities and those in rented accommodation (Todd and Butcher, 1982). Poll tax evaders are also unlikely to be on the Register of Electors. However, as the Post Office Address File is not a list of households but of delivery points or letter boxes and as a significant number of households in the survey area were known to share a single property and thus a common letter box and entry on the Post Office File, to improve the accuracy of the sample these households were additionally mapped and incorporated within the sampling frame.

From the final sampling frame 50 per cent of all households in

the survey area were selected. At each household an alternate male/female respondent, aged 16 years or over, was identified for interview. To ensure a random selection within the household a Kish grid was used (Kish, 1965).

Interviewing Team

Given the sensitive nature of this research, great care was taken over the selection of the interviewing team. Interviewers can determine the success or failure of a research project: poor interviewers make mistakes, misread questions, lead or mislead respondents, fail to probe when necessary, lose questionnaires and falsify responses (Walklate, 1989). In this survey, all the interviewers were chosen for their understanding of and commitment to the problem of domestic violence. The majority were highly experienced, having worked on previous surveys. Six interviewers were recruited from the minority groups represented in the study area, of these five could speak some of the relevant community languages. All interviewers received intensive training and information on the help available to those experiencing domestic violence. They were monitored in the field by a fieldwork supervisor with counselling and social work experience.

A major feature of the interviewing brief was to interview respondents on their own; this was to try to ensure that respondents did not feel inhibited, and that neither their nor the interviewer's safety was compromised in any way. If the

respondent was not alone when the interviewer called an appointment was made for a later date. Where possible interviewers and respondents were matched by gender.

All respondents received Help-Line cards which featured the telephone numbers of a wide range of agencies. My intention was to avoid the 'interview and run' style that has characterized many surveys - I wanted to ensure that should the need arise support was available (see Radford, 1987)[1]. In a project of this nature it is essential that relevant support services are available locally and willing to take on any referrals from the survey.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaires employed were carefully formulated, particularly in the light of the difficulties involved in defining and measuring violence. I tried to be as specific as possible in clarifying the relationships involved and used subjective and objective indices of violence. With respect to measurement, data was collected on prevalence (the number who have experienced violence at some time in their lives and in the

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[1] The importance of back-up support was highlighted in one of the pilot studies when a 65 year old woman told an interviewer about her experience of being raped over forty years ago by her husband's friend. The interviewer was the first person she had informed and she was clearly still affected by the experience, particularly as her husband had remained in frequent contact with the man concerned. As a result the interviewer, at her request, put her in touch with a counselling service in Islington which she found beneficial. The interviewer also made several follow-up visits.

last 12 months) and on the number of incidents of violence that have occurred in the last 12 months. The latter enabled the survey to generate a rate that facilitates comparison with police figures.

Fieldwork

All the households in the sample received a letter informing them that a general crime survey was being conducted in their area - no mention was made of domestic violence. The interviews were carried out over a nine month period which is a much longer time-scale than that of previous local surveys undertaken in Islington and this, together with the dedication and sensitivity of the interviewers, must account for the comparatively high response rates achieved by the survey. The length of the fieldwork period meant that at least ten attempts could be made to contact the sample members, at different times of the day, different days of the week, after holidays and so on. And it allowed time to remind women - through follow-up visits - to return the supplementary questionnaires (see Stage 2)[4].

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[4] Previous research shows that repeated contacts on postal surveys dramatically improve the response rate (see Fox et al, 1988; Yammarino et al, 1991). Given the nature of the research the follow-ups were, of course, carried out in a discrete manner.

The Stages of the Research

Stage 1

This stage was conducted along the lines of the traditional victimisation survey method. An interviewer-administered questionnaire was used and included questions on avoidance behaviour, victimisation, policing and demographics. The funder had, in addition, requested that the project should investigate street robbery and stop and search (see Funding below). The questionnaire was constructed so that the more general questions relating to crime were asked first; this provided a useful lead into asking about more 'sensitive' issues. Where possible open-ended questions were included to let respondents 'speak for themselves' about their experiences. This general questionnaire was administered to 571 women and 429 men, representing a response rate of 83 per cent.

One of the aims of this stage of the study was to generate data on the attitudes of men to domestic violence, so a section of the questionnaire was directed at male respondents only. Vignettes were used detailing where in a 'conflict' situation men could see themselves as using violence. Dobash and Dobash have suggested that, 'the four main sources of conflict leading to violent attacks are men's possessiveness and jealousy, men's expectations concerning women's domestic work, men's sense of the right to punish 'their' women for perceived wrongdoing, and the importance to men of maintaining or exercising their position of

authority' (1992: 4) and it was this that I tried to reflect in designing the 'conflict' situations. The 'conflict' situations, therefore, included quarrels over domestic arrangements, child care, infidelity and so on. This was supplemented by male self-report questions on actual violence: men were asked if they had ever hit their partner in any of the 'conflict' situations. Obviously if you ask men directly if they had hit their partner, they are likely to reply 'no' but if you present them with a 'conflict' situation it was conjectured that this might elicit a more honest and greater response rate[5].

Whilst it is true that even by using such an approach some men will see their violence as not 'severe' enough to mention, feel it is not relevant having occurred outside the scope of the 'conflict' situation or will simply lie, such data gives us a baseline. It enables us to say that <u>at least</u> this proportion of men would be liable to use violence against their partners. Various researchers have found vignettes to be a useful tool for the researching of sensitive subjects (Finch, 1987; Lee, 1993)[6]. This section was included in this survey in order to move away from the conventional research emphasis on women alone; it is, after all, <u>men</u> not women who largely perpetrate violence on women and as such we should provide some focus on their behaviour.

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[5] This method is distinct from the Conflict Tactic Scales used by the family violence researchers which does not suggest specific scenarios (Straus, 1979; Straus <u>et al</u>, 1980).

[6] Brokowski <u>et al</u> (1983) also used vignettes to explore how different practitioners defined domestic violence.

The vignettes were also presented to 100 women respondents, They were asked if they could predict their partners likely response in any of these 'conflict' situations. This was to provide comparative data for the male responses and to discover whether women, in relationships where violence has not occurred, are still controlled by its possibility. That the violence has not occurred may well be due to avoidance of the 'conflict' situations.

A Note on Women and Social Class

As stated above demographic information (i.e. that relating to the respondent's gender, age, ethnicity and social class) was also collected in this stage of the survey. With respect to assessing social class, the conventional view is,

> ...that social class inheres not in individuals but in households. The household is the unit of analysis, and the class position of that unit is determined by the occupation of its head. (Abbott and Sapsford, 1987: 2).

And this is seen in the majority of local crime surveys: questions are only asked of the head of household's class position. This approach is clearly problematic for women. In discussing the work of socialist feminists in Chapter Four it was noted that women are frequently in low-paid or unpaid employment and their occupations are - or are perceived as - influenced by their child care and domestic responsibilities. Thus, and this is particularly true for married or co-habiting women, their class position is evaluated in terms of that of the main 'bread-

winner' - usually their male partner. Indeed Abbott and Sapsford comment that in many of the class stratification studies conducted in Britain and the United States,

> ...the instructions given to interviewers tend to be such that if an adult male is present in a household it is almost certain that his occupation will determine the coding of the class position of that household. This means in practice that some people (mainly adult males) have a class position determined by their own occupation, while other people (mainly, but not exclusively, married women) have their class position determined by the occupation of someone with whom they live. (1987: 2).

This form of class analysis clearly fails to consider gender inequalities and does not adequately incorporate women into the examination of class inequalities (Ibid). In the North London Domestic Violence Survey it was regarded as essential to collect information on the individual respondent's class position. For we need to know the woman's class position in order to assess impact and it is hypothesised that economic dependence on men and lack of employment opportunities traps women in violent relationships. But the man's class position is also important if class is to be investigated as a causal factor in domestic violence. To obtain as full a picture as possible respondents were, therefore, questioned on their class position, their partners (if married or co-habiting), their head of household (if this was not themselves or their partner) and if under 25 years old and single that of their head of household at the age of 12. The latter category was included as the present class position of those under 25 years and single - whilst still of relevance in terms of assessing impact - is not regarded as a good

indicator of their actual position for this is likely to be still determined by that of their family of origin. The questions used were adapted from Goldthorpe's system of classification. (See Appendix IV).

Stage 2

This stage involved women respondents only; the method used has been termed the 'piggy-back' method. A sample of women interviewed for the first stage of the project were handed a supplementary self-complete questionnaire on domestic violence, together with a stamped addressed envelope. The interviewer was instructed to emphasise that the information recorded would be treated with confidence and that the respondent's identity would not be revealed to anyone[7]. The personal contact made in the formal interview situation (Stage 1 of this project) had been previously found to motivate the respondent to complete and return the questionnaire, thus helping to boost the response rate. Pilot work had shown that this method generates a better and more accurate response than that of the traditional victimisation survey. This is likely to be because the method assures the respondent of her anonymity. Given the intrinsically private nature of domestic violence, it is easier for the respondent to record her experiences on paper than relate them verbally to a stranger, no matter how good an interviewer,

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[7] To preserve confidentiality further and ensure respondent safety I have chosen not to reveal the exact area in Finsbury Park in which the survey took place. And the publicity material on the survey has, for this reason, only referred to Islington.

standing on the door-step. Postal surveys also allow time for the respondent to reflect on questions which results in more considered, precise answers. This stage included questions on: definitions of domestic violence, the different forms of domestic violence perpetrated by husbands and boyfriends, including ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends; their incidence and prevalence; the use of various agencies by women and their assessment of the various agencies' effectiveness. Questions were also included on physical violence and sexual assaults from other family members and sexual assault and rape from men whom women have dated/ gone out with on not more than five occasions. Despite such a wide scope, the questionnaire was kept as short and concise as possible to ensure that it would be filled-in and returned. So as not to have to ask the same questions twice, particularly those designed to collect demographic data, each supplementary questionnaire was given a number allowing it to be matched with the main questionnaire. This also enabled us to keep track of those questionnaires which had been returned and to follow-up on those still to come in. In addition to completing the questionnaire, many respondents wrote detailed accounts of their experiences, thus generating qualitative data around a quantitative survey.

A key aspect of the self-complete questionnaires was that they were only given out to women whose partners were not in at the time of the interview. This strategy not only gave the respondent time to reflect in answering questions when compared to the interview situation, it also had the vital element of

secrecy. Questionnaires were handed out to 535 women. They, therefore, represent a second survey selected on this criterion and the response rate is calculated in terms of the numbers handed out. It is important to stress that the sample was not selected in terms of the willingness of women to answer a supplementary questionnaire. This would have biased it perhaps towards those who had experienced domestic violence. We had 430 questionnaires returned which represents a response rate of 80 per cent.[8]

Stage 3

This stage consisted of in-depth interviews with women who had experienced domestic violence. Women who had spoken to the interviewer about their experiences in Stage 1 of the project were asked if they would mind doing a further interview. Fifteen were interviewed. Ten of the interviews were conducted by myself, the remaining five by members of the interviewing team. In-depth interviews were included in response to the widespread recognition of the importance of a 'triangulation' of method (Denzin, 1970; Jupp, 1989). That is, the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data is essential if the experience of domestic violence is to be accurately portrayed. Qualitative data, such as that generated by in-depth interviewing, are necessary to fully interpret survey data and, likewise, quantitative data are necessary to fully interpret the typicality

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[8] The questionnaire used for this stage of the survey is included in Appendix III.

of case studies. The intention of this stage was to provide information on the individual impact of domestic violence and its context and to contribute to the understanding of the longitudinal development of domestic violence. Qualitative interviews further tackle the problem of 'incessant' violence, that is when violence occurs with such regularity it is simply not quantifiable in terms of the discrete, 'event orientation' implicit in victimisation surveys (Genn, 1988; Walklate, 1989). The importance of qualitative work is documented in greater depth in Chapters Four and Five.

Data Analysis

The results from the quantitative components were analysed using SPSSX.

6.1.3 Funding

Obtaining the funding for the survey proved extremely difficult[9]. I applied - with the necessary support from the Centre for Criminology, Middlesex University - to over 100 charities, companies and research bodies with no success. Chris Nuttal, head of the Home Office Research and Planning Unit, said

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[9] The problems involved in financing research projects on violence against women, particularly by feminists, are well-documented. Indeed Hanmer and Saunders argued that in not providing the necessary grants, 'the interests of existing power-holders, largely men, are being served by knowing as little as possible about violence to women.' (1984: 11).

in reply to the application that he doubted the survey could improve on the figures produced by the British Crime Surveys or the first Islington Crime Survey - this was despite Lorna Smith's recommendation in the Home Office report on domestic violence that more local surveys should be carried-out in order to provide a more accurate estimate of the scale of the problem and to, 'aid local decision-making and policy planning' (1989: 103). The Economic and Social Research Council, the major social science research funder, rejected my application. One of the referees suggested that I was, 'proposing to reinvent the wheel in certain respects', in particular the survey work of Murray Straus and his colleagues in the United States, the family violence researchers, and recommended the use of the Conflict Tactic Scales. This assumes that the results of a piece of work can easily be transposed from one country to another and ignores the detailed criticisms of Straus et al that exist in the United States and this country (see Chapter Three). Further, this referee commented, with respect to my intention to examine class in the light of the debates in this area:

> When you say that 'the distribution of such violence by subgroup within the population is, at present, completely speculative' you are perhaps exaggerating. Several American studies have addressed this issue...Spouse abuse is clearly correlated with low social status in its various manifestations. (my emphasis).

This is a very questionable assumption. And even more controversially the reference stated,

> Why restrict your study to female victims? Far more is known about them, and we know that women hit men as often as men hit women. Furthermore, you could gain by getting the point of view of both spouses.

Clearly, this referee blithely accepts the family violence data alleging that men are as likely to be subjected to violence from their wives as women are from their husbands. Indeed, it was with this in mind the North London Domestic Violence Survey included interviews with men to enable this hypothesis to be tested. Furthermore, with respect to the last point, I believe that interviewing both spouses, a method which has been favoured by many North American researchers (Szinovacz, 1983; O'Leary and Arias, 1988), should not be advocated in researching such a sensitive area. It fails to take into account the power-control relations that exist between men and women, and are reflected in their personal relationships. These are likely not only to affect their responses but clearly create a risk that such an approach could lead to further repercussions on the victim.

It was at this juncture, after many refusals with regards to funding, that the Centre for Criminology was approached by Islington Council to conduct a crime survey focusing on street robbery and stop and search, funded by the Department of the Environment. Using the results from the pilot surveys I argued for the need to incorporate a domestic violence component into the survey. Islington Council agreed and the domestic violence component subsequently became central to the method. Being commissioned to do a piece of research by a local authority does, however, result in certain restrictions, for example, with

respect to the project's location (it had to be specifically located in Islington), the time scale and so on. And local authorities almost always want some measure of control over the dissemination of the research findings. Lastly, funding is rarely sufficient to provide in-depth analysis of data and usually allows only a superficial perusal in order to produce a one-off report. Fortunately, Middlesex University provided a 0.5 Research Fellowship out of PCFC funding which allowed my work to continue for a 12 month period.

6.1.4 Responses to the Survey

The responses to the survey were extremely positive; many women wrote in to say how pleased they were that research was being conducted in this area and to have the opportunity to contribute their experiences. Much concern was expressed for women currently being subjected to domestic violence. Below are some of the comments made:

> 'I think surveys like this are very useful for forming a basis on which to tackle the problem. Unfortunately people in charge (i.e. police, politicians etc.) only seem to act when confronted with statistics. To ask people is the best source of information and the only indication of what is really going on in the community and behind people's front door.'

> 'Your interviewer was nice, friendly and very approachable and I am glad I did this. I hope something comes out of it. Thank you. Good luck.'

'I have known many women locked into violent relationships, both physical and mental. I do hope your survey will result in some practical and immediate help for them.'

'I am glad this survey is being done. I have never experienced violence of this sort, but I have nothing but contempt for those who perpetrate it, sympathy for those that suffer it, and admiration for those with the courage to change their situations by leaving. Domestic violence is, I believe, much more widespread than those in power would have us believe probably so that they do not have to invest resources into it'

'Hopefully, if I can pass on anything I've gained from my own experiences, that someone else might be able to benefit from them at some point, it would be nice to think that is the case.'

'I do hope that this survey will help things get done. I do hope so. I have been lucky, but for those who aren't something has to be done for them.'

Where the survey came in for specific criticism was from four women who pointed to the heterosexual bias of the self-complete questionnaire and argued that it should have included questions on 'lesbian battering'. In fact I chose to restrict this stage (2) to male violence for two reasons: firstly, I started from the position that male violence on women is a greater social problem and, at present, warrants the more detailed attention and secondly, the areas covered by the questionnaire had to be limited to ensure a good response rate. Stage 1 of the project did, however, allow for the recording of violence in other relationships and an in-depth interview was conducted with a woman who had experienced violence in a lesbian relationship (see Appendix VI).

6.2 THE SUBSIDIARY STUDY ON POLICING

This study was conducted with the police in Holloway, West Hendon and Tottenham Police Divisions. Holloway Police Division serves the survey location. In-depth interviews were conducted with four Chief Superintendents, with the officers who ran the Domestic Violence Units and eight officers of varying ranks who had been called to domestic violence incidents. Twelve in-depth interviews were also carried out with women who had been in contact with these divisions. The intention of this research was to investigate the police response to domestic violence.

6.3 STRUCTURE OF THE EMPIRICAL SECTION: Chapters Seven to Ten

The findings from the research project are discussed in the following Chapters Seven to Ten. I shall first present the results on violence against women from their husbands and boyfriends: Chapter Seven will cover definitions, the extent, nature, distribution and impact of this form of violence; Chapter Eight, will examine patterns of reporting, women's explanations for violence and reasons for remaining in abusive relationships and Chapter Nine, attitudes and men's use of violence in accordance with the vignettes. Chapter Ten widens the study out by exploring the social and spatial parameters of violence against both women and men from known and unknown persons. This enables the testing of various hypotheses derived from the

theoretical literature discussed in Chapters Two to Five on the focusing of violence. The opinions of the police from the subsidiary study on policing are summarised in Appendix VII.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VIOLENCE FROM HUSBANDS AND BOYFRIENDS I:

Definitions, Extent, Distribution and Impact

This chapter marks the beginning of the discussion of the empirical findings from the research project. It focuses on women's definitions of 'violence', their experiences of different forms of violence from husbands and boyfriends, including ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends, and the impact that these experiences have had. These areas were covered in Stage 2 of the North London Domestic Violence Survey, the in-depth interviews conducted in Stage 3 and in the subsidiary study on policing. Unless otherwise stated all the statistical data presented in the empirical sections of this thesis are from the survey.

7.1 HOW WOMEN DEFINE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

As previously indicated in the chapters on theory and method there is a wide variation with respect to what might be defined as 'domestic violence'. In Stage 2 of the survey, women were asked what actions they would designate as 'violence' in a relationship between a husband or wife or boyfriend and girlfriend. The results are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Women's Definitions of Domestic Violence

	Behaviours	Agreed with statement %
A	Domestic violence includes mental cruelty. Mental cruelty includes verbal abuse (eg calling of names, being ridiculed especially in front of other people), being deprived of money, clothes, sleep, prevented from going out etc.	80
B	Domestic violence includes being threatened with physical force or violence, even though no actual physical violence occurs.	68
C	Domestic violence includes physical violence (eg grabbing, pushing, shaking) that does not result in actual bodily harm.	76
D	Domestic violence includes physical violence that results in actual bodily harm (eg bruising, black eyes, broken bones).	92
E	Domestic violence includes being made to have sex without giving consent.	76

n=430

Thus, as would be expected, 92 per cent of women consider physical violence that results in actual bodily harm to be domestic violence but mental cruelty is also seen by the vast majority of women as domestic violence (80%). Indeed, more women would define this as domestic violence than threats of physical

violence (68%). Important also to note is that rape, defined on the questionnaire as 'made to have sex without giving consent', (whether or not actual physical violence is used or threatened) is seen as part of domestic violence. This indicates that most women do not support the myth that rape is only an offence if the woman is beaten (that is, if there is bruising, black eyes and so on) and the man is a stranger. Indeed the survey showed a clear majority of <u>all</u> women would define all of these five aspects (mental cruelty, threats, physical violence without actual bodily harm, physical violence with actual bodily harm and made to have sex without consent) as constituents of what makes up domestic violence.

When the data was broken-down by age, ethnicity and class, it was found that whilst the majority still defined all the behaviours presented to them as domestic violence, some differences did emerge:

Definitions by Age

TABLE 2: Women's Definitions of Domestic Violence, by age

Age	Behaviours* A %	B %	C %	D %	E %
16-24	84	72	72	95	79
25-34	83	73	74	96	79
35-44	83	72	88	97	81
45-54	84	76	83	98	80
55-64	53	40	51	60	50

n= 430

* See Table 1 for definitions

As can be seen from the above table, there was no variation with respect to definition between the age groups 16 to 24, 25 to 34, 35 to 44 and 45 to 54 years. Women who were fifty-five and over, however, were less likely than the other groups to define the behaviours listed as domestic violence including physical violence resulting in actual bodily harm (e.g. bruising, black eyes, broken bones). This variation indicates that there may well have been a change in attitude over the years with respect to what constitutes domestic violence and in levels of tolerance over what is 'acceptable' behaviour within a relationship.

Definitions by Ethnicity

TABLE 3: Women's Definitions of Domestic Violence, by ethnicity

Ethnicity	Behaviours*				
	A %	B %	C %	D %	E %
English/ Scottish/ Welsh	83	70	77	97	82
Irish	76	71	84	94	76
African-Caribbean	97	89	90	98	85
African	67	73	81	93	55
Other Western European	80	80	79	94	80
Other	82	69	76	90	77

n= 430

* See Table 1 for definitions

'Other' included those of Asian, Turkish, Greek, Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot origin - the numbers were too small to be broken down by specific group.

African-Caribbean women emerged as the group most likely to define all the behaviours presented to them as domestic violence: 97 per cent agreed that it included mental cruelty, 89 per cent threats of violence, 90 per cent physical violence that does not result in actual bodily harm, 98 per cent physical violence resulting in actual bodily harm (for example, bruising, black eyes, broken bones) and 85 per cent being 'made to have sex without giving consent'. African women, in contrast, were found to be the least liable to see mental cruelty (67%) and, more

noticeably, 'made to have sex without consent' (55%) as constituents of domestic violence. Irish women were also less likely to see the latter as domestic violence as were women in the 'other' category. Women in this category were, in addition, found to have the lowest level of agreement with respect to threats of violence. To have investigated definitional and other differences further amongst groups in the 'other' category would have necessitated an ethnic minority booster sample - our resources, unfortunately, were unable to stretch to this. It is, however, recommended that future surveys incorporate such a booster sample (see Brown and Ritchie, 1981).

Definitions by Class

TABLE 4: Women's Definitions of Domestic Violence, by class

Class	Behaviours* A %	B %	C %	D %	E %
Professional	89	80	82	92	80
Lower middle class	79	71	74	91	75
Working class	76	60	71	92	71

n= 430

* See Table 1 for definitions

Professional women were more likely to see mental cruelty, threats of violence, physical violence that did not result in actual bodily harm and rape all as constituents of domestic

violence than lower middle class and working class women. With respect to definition 'D' (physical violence that results in actual bodily harm) there was absolute and high agreement between the classes.

Overall it is important to stress that the broad definition of domestic violence that is adopted by the majority of women interviewed reflects attitudes to what amounts to intolerable coercion in their lives. Each aspect, of course, may occur together and compound the problems which women face. Furthermore, it would be wrong to view such violence as a simple continuum of seriousness ranging from mental cruelty through to threats and actual bodily violence. For example, prolonged mental cruelty was shown in some of the qualitative interviews to have a greater impact than the sporadic, isolated incident of actual bodily violence. Clearly, however, women's prioritization of this range of events under the rubric of domestic violence, would suggest a demand for a wide range of agency intervention. For example, not only the police and general practitioners but also counsellors, social services, the housing department, informal support groups etc. To argue that such a multi-agency approach is necessary is not, of course, to suggest that any <u>one</u> agency has a magic wand which will simply 'solve' the problem. All agencies are important and the particular configuration of agencies involved, together with the decision about which are to take a leading role, will be dependent on the problems of specific groups of women and the stage at which a violent relationship is being confronted.

The Changing Parameters of Definition

Despite the wide consensus amongst women with regards to what constitutes domestic violence, it is important to stress that there is a variation by age, class and ethnicity. Furthermore, such definitions change over time. This is clearly shown in the qualitative data. Thus women who had been subjected to domestic violence reported in the in-depth interviews that, at the time, they found it difficult to define their experiences as 'violence'. For example, many women felt they had 'deserved it', and, indeed, were frequently told by their partners that they had, and this prevented them from seeing the behaviour as 'mental cruelty', 'domestic violence' and so on. The following extract reveals the difficulties that one woman had in classifying her experiences,

> 'He'd often say quite nasty things (called her a "slag", "tart", said she was ugly, lazy and dirty and made derogatory comments about her friends and family) and that had become customary. I had always thought that I'd asked for that because he'd always told me I had. He was always saying how dare you do this, how dare you show me up and I used to think, oh what sort of person am I. I was always taking responsibility for things that went wrong. So I didn't consider that mental cruelty although it was very upsetting and has affected my confidence. If someone like you had come along then and asked me if I was experiencing mental cruelty I would have said "no". It took a long time to realise how unreasonable he was. The actual physical violence was not what I thought was bad, I wouldn't have called it domestic violence. I was being punched, kicked and slapped (also sexual abuse). But never broken bones and if I got bruised they were never that bad. It wasn't obvious and I didn't feel like it was obvious. My sister-in-law was, is, experiencing extreme physical violence, I classed that as real domestic violence. I didn't ever class myself in the same category. I didn't think it was real domestic violence. She has experienced broken bones, been in hospital many, many times. One time he kicked her in the elbow so hard that he shattered it. She took an overdose

> and was in hospital. While there she decided to take out an injunction but he persuaded her to have him back, as soon as she did, she spent another few days in hospital. He'll kill her or she'll kill herself in the end.'

As she did not consider her experiences as serious enough to justify the label 'domestic violence', it never occurred to her to make use of any of the specialist agencies: 'I thought refuges were for those like my sister-in-law...if I'd realised I could have gone I would have got out a lot earlier and would have got better legal advice'.

Several women also spoke about the difficulties of defining rape, particularly with respect to the issue of consent. Rape was defined in the survey as 'made to have sex without consent'.

> 'My husband (now-ex) used to force me to have sex with him, but at first I didn't see it as a crime. I had had a sheltered life and thought that was what happened in marriage.'

7.2 INCIDENCE, PREVALENCE AND TIME SPAN

The structure of the questionnaire makes it possible to separate out the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence. Incidence refers to the number of incidents of violence occurring; prevalence to the number of individuals affected. Obviously incidence rates will be higher than prevalence rates as the same individual may have several incidents within a given time span. In terms of time, I asked both 'have ever' questions and whether the violence occurred in the last twelve months. 'Have ever' questions are important in that they estimate the percentage of individuals who have been affected at some time in their lives and it should be stressed that women's fear and concern about domestic violence, indeed all forms of violence, will relate to such lifetime experiences. 'Have ever' questions clearly facilitate a more comprehensive examination of impact: this is indicated by the following comments of a woman who had been sexually assaulted by a boyfriend thirty years ago:

> 'When these things happened to me it was not as much out in the open as now, so it was not talked about. Infact it was nearly ten years later I told my husband after being married a year because it was causing problems and ten years after that I told my mother. It worries me sometimes my husband forgets or thinks that after 30 years I should be over it. But you never forget just the little things said or done can make you remember.'

The events in the last 12 months are also vital in order to know which individuals are affected in a year (prevalence per year) and what number of incidents occur per year (incidence per year). The <u>latter</u> figures represent the yearly potential demand

on the agencies concerned. This being said it should be stressed that the figures throughout represent the number of women who have revealed their experiences to the survey team. However high they may seem, and however well the research method has facilitated response, the percentages presented here represent bottom line figures. For many women will undoubtedly still have been too fearful, embarrassed or unwilling to reveal their hidden experiences to strangers. It must also be made clear that these figures refer to <u>all</u> women; if I had used as the base only those women who are or were in relationships at the time - that is those who are at greatest risk of domestic violence - the percentages would be considerably higher than those presented here.

7.2.1 <u>The Prevalence of Domestic Violence in a Woman's Lifetime</u>

Women were presented with a range of different types of violence and questioned as to whether they had experienced any of these at some time in their lives. The results are recorded in Table 5.

TABLE 5: The Prevalence of Domestic Violence in a Woman's Lifetime, by type of violence

Violent Behaviours	%
MENTAL CRUELTY - including verbal abuse (eg the calling of names, being ridiculed in front of other people), being deprived of money, clothes, sleep, prevented from going out etc.	37
THREATS OF VIOLENCE OR FORCE	27
ACTUAL PHYSICAL VIOLENCE - Grabbed or pushed or shaken - Punched or slapped - Kicked - Head butted - Attempted strangulation - Hit with a weapon/ object	 32 25 14 6 9 8
INJURIES - Injured - Bruising or black eye - Scratches - Cuts - Bones broken	 27 26 12 11 6
RAPE[1](def.= made to have sex without consent) - Rape with threats of violence[2] - Rape with physical violence	23 13 9
COMPOSITE VIOLENCE	30

n= 430

[1] As many commentators have pointed out (Estrich, 1987; Hall, 1985; Clark and Lewis, 1977) many rapes are accompanied by non-physical forms of coercion (i.e. not by overt threats of violence or actual physical force or violence e.g. bruising, broken bones etc.). Social and economic forms of coercion, for example, are likely to occur, particularly when rape takes place in the context of a relationship. It must also be stressed that rape is a violent act in itself whether or not achieved by threats of or actual physical violence. Unfortunately, whilst being made to have sex without giving consent is defined in Law as 'rape', it is often only when physical forms of coercion are involved that society and particularly the criminal justice system - and then not always (see Lees and Gregory, 1993) - is prepared to accept that a rape has taken place.

[2] It should be noted that threats of violence and actual physical violence are not mutually exclusive as some women will be threatened and/or have physical violence used against them in different incidents.

Note that all of these items have been defined by the majority of women as domestic violence. As can be seen from the above Table; violence from a partner is scarcely a rare phenomenon. Whether it is defined as mental cruelty, threats, actual violence with injury or rape, it has occurred to at least one quarter to a third of all women in their lifetime. There is, of course, a continuum in terms of frequency: mental cruelty is more common than actual physical violence, actual physical violence more common than violence which results in an injury. But all are common occurrences. Indeed even if we were to take one of the more extreme definitions of domestic violence: where bones have actually been broken: one in sixteen have been so inflicted. Furthermore, as has been stressed, all of these forms of domestic violence may occur together, and have equal and compounding impact whether mental cruelty or broken bones. Indeed mental cruelty was seen by many women to be particularly damaging, thus confirming the finding by Walker (1979). One woman wrote, 'in my opinion mental cruelty is equally as bad as physical violence except the scars do not show and never heal', another reported, 'it is not the physical bashing so much as what you are told constantly - the belittling really wears you down - it is the mental abuse that really does the damage'.

In terms of the mode of physical violence, as would be expected there is a continuum from being pushed or shaken to being hit by a weapon. But even attempted strangulation, which might be considered the more serious end of this continuum, has occurred to just under one in ten women and assault with an object or a

weapon to over one in twelve. And it should be mentioned that the 1992 Criminal Statistics show us that in homicide cases, strangulation is the second most common method, after the use of a sharp instrument, of killing women - accounting for 24 per cent of deaths.

In this section it is also important to comment on how widespread rape is from men against their partners: just under a quarter of women had been raped. Furthermore, this had occurred with threats of violence to over one in seven women and with actual physical violence to just under one in ten women in the population surveyed.

COMPOSITE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In analysing the data in this section of the thesis my aim is to look first at the prevalence and incidence of the various forms of domestic violence, secondly the longitudinal development of domestic violence and finally to explore variations across sub-sections of the population with respect to its occurrence, impact and levels of reporting[3]. To facilitate the latter it is necessary to choose one indicator of domestic violence with which to crosstabulate by the different social groups. A single indicator was created of the general rate of violence by combining the categories punched or slapped, kicked, head-butted,

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[3] Levels and patterns of reporting are discussed in Chapter Eight.

attempted strangulation and hit with a weapon/ object (that is, excluding mental cruelty, rape, threats of violence and 'grabbed, pushed or shaken'). I termed this general rate COMPOSITE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. This is not, of course, to suggest that violence does not occur outside of the composite or is less serious for, as it has been shown, this is manifestly untrue. Indeed this study starts from the premise that mental cruelty, threats, sexual violence, physical violence and any other form of controlling behaviour used against a woman are all to be seen as violence. However, I found in both the qualitative and quantitative work that the composite is a definition of domestic violence which virtually all women would agree about, whereas, with other forms of violence there is a greater divergence of opinion. The use of a consensus definition enables the argument that violence rates are simply a reflection of definitional variations between different parts of the population to be countered (see Hough, 1986; Young, 1988a). Composite domestic violence is incontestably domestic violence whoever's definition one utilizes. Despite the exclusion of the various aspects of violence detailed above, 30 per cent of women had had acts perpetrated against them by partners or ex-partners at sometime in their lives which fell into the category of composite domestic violence.

7.2.2 The Prevalence and Incidence of Domestic Violence in the Last Twelve Months

Women were asked whether the various forms of domestic violence - mental cruelty, threats, physical violence, violence with injury and rape - had occurred within the last 12 months and the number of times that such violence had been inflicted[4].

TABLE 6: The Prevalence of Domestic Violence in the Last 12 Months, by type of violence

	ALL %	No. of Times %			
		1-5	6-10	11-20	20+
MENTAL CRUELTY	12	5	2	1	4
THREATS OF VIOLENCE	8	5	2	0.2	1
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	12	8	2	0.5	1
INJURIES	8	6	1	0.5	0.5
RAPE	6	4	1	0	0.5
COMPOSITE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	10				

n= 430

[4] It must be noted that several women found it difficult to quantify their experiences, some could only reply 'lots and lots'. One woman said, 'too many over too long a period to remember'. In these cases an average figure was taken. See the discussion in Genn (1988).

Thus 12 per cent of women had experienced actual physical violence (including grabbed or pushed or shaken, punched or slapped, kicked, head butted, attempted strangulation, hit with a weapon/ object) from their partners in the last twelve months, eight per cent of all women had been injured and six per cent raped by their partner. These figures, alone, over such a short period illustrate the enormity of the problem.

From the above figures we are also able to ascertain the extent to which domestic violence is an infrequent occurrence or a repeated event. Thus if we distinguish those events which have occurred five or less times in the year, six to ten times and over eleven times, the following breakdown of figures can be made:

TABLE 7: Frequency of Domestic Violence Incidents in Last 12 Months, by type

	% of Incidents		
	Less than 5	6-10	Over 11
MENTAL CRUELTY	42	17	42
THREATS OF VIOLENCE	61	24	15
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	70	17	13
INJURIES	75	13	13
RAPE	73	18	9

n= 430

As can be seen from the above table domestic violence is often repeated in all categories even over a relatively short period of time such as twelve months. More than a quarter of all injuries, for example, have occurred more than five times a year.

In terms of estimating the amount of potential demand on agencies with regards to domestic violence it is important to distinguish the number of incidents which have occurred per year (incidence rate) in contrast to the number of individuals involved (prevalence rate).

TABLE 8: Prevalence Rate, Incidence Rate and Rate of Multiple Victimisation Over a Twelve Month Period, by type of domestic violence

	Prevalence Rate by 100 women	Incidence Rate by 100 women	Average Victimisation Rate
MENTAL CRUELTY	12	123	10.3
THREATS	8	73	9.1
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	12	85	7.1
INJURIES	8	34	4.3
RAPE	6	25	4.2

Incidence rates are the usual way of expressing crime rates, that is, the number of burglaries per 100 of the population. If we consider domestic violence where injury has occurred and where legal action would certainly be possible, we have an astonishingly high assault rate of 17 per cent (i.e. allowing for rate per <u>total</u> population of men and women) due to domestic violence.

Average victimisation rates are the average number of times a person has been victimised: that is incidence divided by prevalence. As we can see the average rate of domestic violence committed against each woman is high for every type of victimisation. Domestic violence is far from a one-off occurrence. Thus the average number of times a woman who has been physically injured in the last 12 months has been injured is four. Domestic violence is thus not only widespread but frequently repeated over a relatively short period of time.

It is important to be aware of the significance of the size of these figures when compared to previous national and local crime surveys. It is not that the researchers do not understand the limitations of their findings. Thus the authors of the 1988 <u>British Crime Survey</u> write: 'There is little doubt that BCS counts of sexual offences and domestic or non-stranger violence are underestimates' (Mayhew <u>et al</u>, 1989: 5). It is more the problem that they do not realize the <u>degree</u> of underestimation. Let us compare some of the findings of the national surveys with the present results:

TABLE 9.1: Rates of Domestic Violence and Sexual Offences in Various Surveys, Incidents per 100 women per 12 month period

	%
A. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	
1988 British Crime Survey (including those without serious injury)	4.2
1988 Scottish Crime Survey	
with injury	0.7
with and without injury	1.2
1992 British Crime Survey	4.6
The North London Domestic Violence Survey	
with injury	34.0
all physical violence	85.0
B. SEXUAL OFFENCES	
1984 British Crime Survey	0.3
1988 British Crime Survey	0.3
The North London Domestic Violence Survey Domestic Rape	25.0

TABLE 9.2 Prevalence Rates from the North London Domestic Violence Survey, 12 month period

	%
With injury	8
All physical violence	12
Domestic Rape	6

These figures reveal not just underestimates but qualitative differences, even if we compare the incidence rates of the British Crime Surveys and the Scottish Crime Survey with our prevalence rates[5]. Furthermore, in the case of domestic violence both the British and the Scottish Crime Surveys included partners, ex-partners and other family members, whereas, the North London Domestic Violence Survey limits itself to partners and ex-partners. And in the case of sexual offences the British Crime Surveys refer to all sexual offences, stranger and non-stranger, whereas, this present survey - in this section of the project - merely confines itself to domestic rapes. The dramatic extent of their underestimation of sexual offences can be illustrated by the fact that the 1988 British Crime Survey found only fifteen sexual offences in the 5,500 women surveyed (this is 'likely to be an underestimate' they note) and in the 1984 survey 19 cases amongst nearly 6,000 women.

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[5] The 1992 British Crime Survey generated a prevalence rate for women of just 0.9 per cent.

7.2.3 Illustration of the Range of Domestic Violence Experienced by Women

Clearly asking about specific behaviours and presenting tables of figures can never solely convey the range and degree of violence experienced by women. The qualitative data obtained from the supplementary questionnaires and in-depth interviews indicated that, in addition to the violent behaviours already mentioned, women had been burned with cigarettes, bitten, scalded, pushed down stairs (illustrating that what might be construed as 'less severe' violence, 'pushing and shoving', can be objectively serious with respect to physical harm), knocked unconscious and had experienced miscarriages as a result of an assault. Indeed it was not unusual for violence to begin or escalate during pregnancy, a time when a woman is physically and emotionally vulnerable. Below are how some of the women described their experiences:

> 'I have been abused verbally and physically which has resulted in bleeding, broken teeth, black eyes and severe, swollen joints. I have been threatened and prohibited from going out. I feel I have had my privacy taken away from me, my papers are read and phone calls listened to.'

> 'On the sex side of things he was very abusive...I had to oblige whatever, however. Frequently I felt quite degraded he'd treat me like some kind of a tart. He made me dress up in stockings and suspenders and strut around the bedroom. If I wasn't comfortable doing it I couldn't refuse, he'd say, "what kind of wife are you then, why am I stuck with you". If I tried to refuse he didn't actually use violence but he would lose his temper, stamp and slam things around and punch things and it was like the threat was always there. I used to think it was only a matter of time before he'd really go for me. So I was always persuaded. He never threatened me verbally, he never once said shut up or I'll slap you, it was just that he used to start hitting things

and he'd tell me to shut up or he'd smash something and tell me to shut up. Once he slammed his hand down on a glass jar smashing it and said shut up. I knew he meant shut up or else although he didn't say it. Although he didn't say it I always knew somehow what it meant.'

'He stole my money, beat me, strangled me, threw a cup of hot tea at me.'

'He would always threaten me, eg, he'd say "if you don't do as I say I'll kick your fucking head in".'

'I was subjected to cruel taunts, threats of violence, stopped from seeing friends (even female) and going out, except to go shopping or to work; was "persuaded" to participate in derisory sexual activities, denied access to my family; was shaken, pushed, pinched, punched and slapped, was criticized in public and had various household objects thrown at me including cups of coffee; had clothes torn off my body.'

'I've been kicked unconscious, beaten with cuts and bruises, had to go to hospital.'

'He didn't actually hit me, just shoving which he was very good at because it is quite easy to shove something into something so you don't actually have to punch them. I was shoved almost on to a cooker. I ended up sticking my arm into a frying pan. I was pregnant at the time.'

'I have been beaten-up, had black eyes and been told he would steal my baby.'

'During a five year period I was beaten (punched, kicked, bitten), hit with shoes, belts, resulting in bruising, nothing was actually broken, but I was constantly sore. My ex-boyfriend also took speed which kept him awake and on many occasions I was deprived of sleep by him tapping my temples, sometimes for hours. He also said things like, "don't go to sleep or I'll pour hot fat down your throat". It ended after he tried to strangle me, the police were called and I ran away to another city.'

'I have had my head banged against the wall and hair pulled...beaten to a pulp.'

'I have been raped, punched, bruised, mainly because I didn't consent to sex.'

'In one incident I was hit around the head, he put his full weight behind the blow. He pulled my legs from underneath me. I had a bruised kidney, ear, side of face and injured lip. The kidney caused me a lot of pain. I had difficulty in sitting. Another time he threw a stool at me then got me on the floor and stuck his knees in me. He then tried to strangle me causing bruising around my neck. He was also violent when having sex, often injuring me and he used to taunt me with being old-fashioned because I wouldn't do the sex things he wanted me to. He also stole money from me.'

'He drew his fist and hit me. I had a suspected broken nose, black eyes, bruised face.'

'I was slapped around, kicked in the stomach while four months pregnant resulting in a miscarriage.'

'I was slapped in the face for 'answering back' and also pushed on the floor and kicked from the bed.'

'He used to rape me, one time in front of the kids.'

'I was hit so badly I was hospitalised and needed a hysterectomy. While recovering in hospital my husband came to see me and punched me in the stomach.'

'He punches, knocks me down, beats me about, pulls my hair. He's always threatening to burn the house down.'

'The last time, he chased me with a machete saying he was going to kill me. I got it off him, cutting myself in the process. He then got an axe. Fortunately the police arrived.'

7.2.4 The Longitudinal Development of Domestic Violence

In the in-depth interviews women were asked about the development of the violence over time. Whilst it must be made clear that there are many variations - no relationship is the same - certain patterns did emerge.

At the beginning of the relationship, not surprisingly, the majority of women recalled that there was little indication of the violent behaviour to come. One woman professed to have had no knowledge of her husband's previous convictions for violence - they only came to light, a couple of years after they were married, when he was prosecuted for being drunk and disorderly. Husbands and boyfriends were described as 'loving and gentle', 'one of those really nice fellows, considerate', 'the perfect man', 'nice, very affectionate, the sort of man who would have given you the moon' and so on. However, once the relationship was more established women reported that their partners gradually became more controlling in their behaviour towards them. That is, for example, by trying to organise the woman's life; dictating the type of paid work, if any, that she could undertake; controlling the amount of money she had, the way she made use of her leisure time and putting emotional pressure on her into spending all of her time with him, rather than seeing friends and family. This controlling behaviour was typically accompanied by verbal abuse and irrational sexual jealousy[6].

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[6] These behaviours fit into the definition of mental cruelty used in the survey.

This was followed - sometimes months, sometimes a few years later - by the onset of physical violence. Many women recalled that physical violence often occurred when they had become more dependent on their partner, for example, as a result of increased isolation from friends and family, and thus, feeling the lack of an outside support system. And, as noted previously, it was not uncommon for violence to begin when the woman was pregnant. One woman said that she thought her partner had begun, 'to feel safe in the relationship, that he could do anything'.

For some women the first incident of physical violence was in the context of or followed an argument, for others, 'it came out of the blue' - although the majority reported their partner had been drinking. The first incident occurred for one woman when she was four months pregnant, which was four months into the marriage: 'His dinner wasn't ready when he came home, basically that was it, he head butted me. It totally stunned me'. After the first episode, women's experiences varied considerably: a number of women were subjected to incessant violence on a weekly or monthly basis, whereas, for others it featured much less frequently. And it was not unusual for there to be lengthy calm periods in which the violence lessened or ceased: in one case there was no violence for over five years. Women's reasons for remaining in or leaving a violent relationship are discussed in Chapter Eight.

The following extract from an interview describes the progression of a violent relationship:

> 'Everything was fine at first as it always is. However, things began to change once we started to live together - he moved in with me at my parents' home. He was always around and gradually my social life began to be inhibited - although I didn't realise it at the time. I saw less and less of my friends and he lost his job so he even started to come to college with me, this meant I didn't have the chance to make other friends. He would accuse me on the times I did go to college on my own of going out to the park for a quick bit with one of my fellow students at lunch time...I couldn't convince him that it wasn't true. It was all ridiculous. We had a lot of arguments - all very unpleasant ones. He used to call me a slag or tart. He criticised all aspects of my life, because I was doing drama at college he used to say all actors get divorced, all are drug takers etc. We were engaged by this time, he would say, "if you are going to carry on with your drama course then I'm not going to marry you". I thought, "oh no this could be awful" - so I stopped doing drama. He even resented me doing cross-word puzzles. He got really unreasonable after we got married. It was all over a piece of toast. We were taking the toast upstairs to sit and eat it and I dropped what he thought was his piece of toast on the floor. I said I'll have it, but he said "no" he wanted his bit of toast. I said don't be silly have mine, I'll make some more, but he thought I was getting lippy so he slapped me in the mouth. It dawned on me then that he could be particularly nasty when he wanted to be. Time went on and we moved from my parents' home. I was still under 18 so everything was in his name - I couldn't sign for things. He had control of the money. He wouldn't let me go to see my parents, he didn't even want me to see them at Christmas which was hard as they were going through a bad patch at the time. His behaviour gradually got worse, constantly accusing me of having affairs while at the same time saying how ugly I was, that I looked like Dracula's wife. Once when I was late from work because the pay-roll van had been robbed he accused me of having this wild affair. The situation got worse, the fights more frequent, he was more unreasonable and he then got more and more violent.'

7.2.5 The Nature of the Relationship

In this section more specific details of the nature of the relationship were sought, in particular whether they were living together when the last incident occurred or did not live together and whether it occurred before or after the relationship had broken up. From this point onwards all figures presented, unless otherwise stated, refer to 'composite domestic violence'

TABLE 10: The Nature of the Relationship in which Domestic Violence Occurred

Relationship	Violence at any time %	Violence last 12 mnths %
Husband or live-in boyfriend	62	63
Current boyfriend (not living with)	4	11
Former husband or former live-in boyfriend	26	14
Former boyfriend they had never lived with	8	11
Former partner	34	25
Present partner	66	74
Lived with	88	77
Never lived with	12	22
	n= 129	n= 43

What is of interest here is that a significant proportion of incidents occurred with men who the woman was not living with or indeed had never lived with - 12 per cent of life-time incidents and 22 per cent of incidents in the last twelve months. The absence of domestic circumstances clearly does not seem to guarantee non-violence nor does not being in a relationship at the time the violence occurred: a quarter of violent incidents occurring in the last twelve months involved former partners. Overall 37 per cent of women experiencing domestic violence were not living with their partner or were not in a relationship with him. If the man was a former husband or boyfriend women were, in addition, asked if violence had occurred whilst they were together. In six per cent of the life-time cases and two per cent of those in the last twelve months it occurred only <u>after</u> the break-up of their relationship. It is clearly necessary for agencies to be aware that domestic violence does not always come from within the home.

<u>Violence After the End of a Relationship</u>

In the following accounts four women describe the violence that occurred after the end of their marriages:

'I was divorced in the 1970s. I was constantly threatened and harassed by my ex-husband. It resulted in many sleepless nights.'

'After the split he kept coming back. He was only violent after the divorce. I had a broken cheek bone, split lip, was knocked out and so on. It escalated once I'd got a new partner. He made constant threats. It was a nightmare. I was afraid to leave the house. The police were involved,

he was arrested on two occasions but he persisted. He would stand outside my door, shouting at me. No matter where I was he was there. It only ended when he died.'

'When my husband left, he'd often come back after a drink and try to get in the flat. Once he climbed through a window, he hit me and tried to strangle me. At other times he'd stand across the other side of the road and just stare at the flat. '

'While we were separated my ex-husband forced his way back into the house. He broke the lock. He threatened me with violence and also verbal abuse. I was terrified.'

The survey also asked women whether they had experienced threatening and obscene telephone calls from an ex-partner. Nine per cent of <u>all</u> women had at some time in their lives received telephone calls of this nature from ex-husbands or ex-boyfriends[7]. And it was not uncommon for these telephone calls to be followed by physical violence:

'My ex-husband telephoned me at work, he was really abusive to me. I've blocked out the things he said. Anyway I put the phone down on him and left it of the hook. He then came round to my work and started shouting and hitting me.'

'There had been numerous incidents of violence after he left. One night he phoned, it was after midnight, he started screaming obscenities and I put the phone down. He rang again and I put the phone down without properly answering it. I knew he was being really wound up by this. But I was not going to speak to him as I knew it would just make me feel wretched. He then broke into the house and came into my bedroom window. He started shouting obscenities again. He grabbed my wrists and held them very tightly behind my back, bruising me.'

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[7]It would, clearly, be of interest to see what proportion of malicious telephone calls to women stem from men with whom they had once been in relationships with.

7.2.6 Domestic Violence by Class, Age and Ethnicity

The prevalence data was broken down by class, age and ethnicity to see if the experience of domestic violence varied according to social group.

CLASS

TABLE 11: Domestic Violence by Class

Class	Violence at any time %	Violence last 12 mnths %
Professional	25	7
Lower middle class	29	11
Working class	30	10
	n = 129	n = 43

Whilst domestic violence is clearly experienced by women from all social classes, it would appear that professional women are less at risk than lower middle class and working class women - who have equal rates against them. The question that arises, therefore, is whether these different rates refer to differentials in class propensity to violence or whether they refer to different definitions of domestic violence by class or class differences in ability to get out of the relationship. Firstly, it must be stated that the focus is on the individual's

(in this case the woman's) class position not the household's class position, if class is to be analysed as a possible causal factor - it is obviously the man's class position that is relevant. And in analysing the data obtained from the use of vignettes no evidence was found to support the assertion of many previous researchers that domestic violence is largely perpetrated by men from the lower socio-economic groups (McClintock, 1963; Straus, 1977; Gelles and Cornell, 1985; Schwartz, 1988; Young, 1986; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991) - see Chapter Nine. In terms of definition, I have focused on composite domestic violence where there is a very high agreement between the classes so this cannot explain the differences recorded above. What may be true, however, is that professional women because of their greater access to resources may be more able to get out of a relationship before it becomes physically violent. The qualitative work shows that physical violence is often proceeded by a pattern of controlling behaviour, for example, organising the woman's daily routine; what she wears; the amount of money she has; emotionally pressurizing her into spending all her time with him, rather than seeing family and friends; ridiculing her and so on (see Section 7.2.4). Further, various commentators have suggested that it is the structural difficulties women face (their relative poverty in comparison to men; fewer employment possibilities, particularly if they have children; frequent financial dependence on men and as primary unpaid carers of children) that trap them in a violent relationship (Pahl, 1985; Tolmie, 1991; Victim Support, 1992). The argument against this is that lower middle-class women have

comparatively greater resources than working class women yet their incidence of domestic violence is equal to that of working class women. Here, however, it is significant to note that the lower middle class women interviewed were more likely to have children than professional women which would serve to lock them into the relationship. Also, they were less likely to define mental cruelty as domestic violence, which was found to be a feature of the controlling behaviours in the early stages of a violent relationship.

AGE

TABLE 12: Domestic Violence by Age

Age	Violence	
	at any time %	last 12 mnths %
16-24	24	13
25-34	34	12
35-44	35	10
45-54	25	7
55-64	31	6
	n = 129	n = 43

The figures show that the prevalence of domestic violence decreases after the age of forty four years. This is shown by the decline in the last 12 months and the fact that the 'have ever' (violence at any time) figures do not progressively

increase. The difference between the younger and older age groups overall could, however, in part be explained by differences in defining what constitutes domestic violence. In Section 7.1 it was shown that significantly fewer women over fifty five years regarded the behaviours presented to them as domestic violence than those in younger age groups. Thus, even where physical violence resulted in actual bodily harm, only 60 per cent of women in the older age group regarded this as domestic violence compared to almost 100 per cent of women in younger age groups. The results for the last 12 months are likely to be due to the greater number of women aged 45 years and over who are no longer in a relationship.

ETHNICITY

TABLE 13: Domestic Violence by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Violence	
	at any time %	last 12 mnths %
English/ Scottish/ Welsh	31	9
Irish	29	9
African- Caribbean	30	12
Other	28	11
	n = 129	n = 43

Domestic violence clearly occurs throughout <u>all</u> the ethnic groups surveyed. There was no significant difference in the 'have ever' (violence at any time) figures although the rate for African-Caribbean women was higher in the 12 month period.

7.3 IMPACT OF THE VIOLENCE

Women were asked what impact their experience of violence had upon them including need of medical attention, time off work and levels of personal unease.

TABLE 14: Impact of the Violence

Impact	Violence	
	at any time %	last 12 mnths %
Seeing a doctor	28	24
Needing to stay overnight in a hospital	8	7
Having to take time off work	20	19
Having difficulty sleeping	40	38
Feeling worried, anxious or nervous	51	40
Feeling depressed or losing self-confidence	46	36
	n = 129	n = 43

The serious nature of these attacks is illustrated by the fact that eight per cent of women experiencing violence in their lifetime and seven per cent of those in the last 12 months had to stay overnight in hospital; also by the high level of reporting of psychological consequences. The qualitative data further supported the degree to which the experience of domestic violence affected women emotionally and psychologically, as the following comments show:

> 'Your own self-worth diminishes, even to the point of blaming yourself for the situation. You really begin to believe that you can't make a life on your own - after all you're not in control of your own life situation are you? You've had your "stuffing" - your sparkle, spirit and joy of life knocked out of you.'

> 'It affects your confidence. Once your confidence has been destroyed and if its been destroyed for a long time you do need an awful lot of confidence building. You need someone constantly rationalising the situation for you because you can't be objective and if you'd been made to feel responsible for it (the violence) all that goes on for a long, long time. I still can't speak to my ex-husband without my brain going to pieces. I can't speak to him rationally.'

> 'My nerves (caused by the violence) have affected my throat. I went into hospital over it. Its like you've swallowed a tennis ball and its stuck there.' (this woman's husband later hit her in the throat: 'he knew I had a bad throat yet the first place he went for was my throat'.)

> 'It's robbed me of my happiness. I went out with my friend the other day to the seaside and had such a nice time that I kept thinking something was wrong. I couldn't remember what a nice time, or being happy, felt like.'

Several women also reported having had nervous breakdowns, suicidal thoughts and a few even attempted suicide. And, not surprisingly, the effects of having experienced such violence were found to be long-lasting, as is indicated by the second comment. In addition to the types of impact detailed above, women whose relationship had ended said that it had made them fearful of all men, worried about getting involved with another man in case they found themselves in a similar situation ('I'm scared of men and it happening again'), that it had affected subsequent relationships ('I feel nervous with men who come too close to me...I just can't trust a man'). Many were scared of reprisals ('I feel constantly nervous that he will return...I am always looking over my shoulder ', 'my husband threatened to kill me and I'm always worried he might find me'), and unfortunately, as the relationship data reveals, these fears are based in reality given the number of women who are subjected to violence from ex-partners.

Coping and Resisting Strategies

In discussing the impact of domestic violence, it is important to stress the coping and resistance strategies adopted by women in response to such violence. As we have seen, radical feminists have argued that we must think of women as 'survivors' rather than as passive victims of men's violence (see Chapter Four). Indeed one woman reported that the experience had made her, 'feel more stronger, I dealt with it and survived and am determined that nothing like that will ever be done to me again'.

The types of strategies utilized by women varied. Several women said they 'argued back' in terms of questioning their partner's behaviour and, in doing so, frequently risked more violence: 'if I'd kept my mouth shut it might not have been so bad, but I felt I couldn't let him get away with it'[8]. Liz Kelly notes that it is this refusal to be silenced that is described as 'nagging', 'asking for it' and 'provocation' and it is:

> This logic or reversal of responsibility (that is) used consistently by abusive men to justify their violence...The assumption is made that, if women did not behave in this way, the violence would cease. (1988a: 179).[9]

Some women tried to respond physically - although this also often led to further violence:

'I once picked up a snooker cue and hit him on the head. He was knocked out, he fell under the table. I just couldn't take anymore. He had concussion. I thought I'd killed him. I called the emergency services (police, ambulance) in panic. The police said he could have pressed charges. He had stitches. He got more violent after this using it as an excuse.'

'He hit me around the head putting his full weight behind the blow. As a result I hit him in the groin. He fell down on all fours but was able to pull my legs from underneath me, he then hit me again.'

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[8] Caution must be exercised in detailing the coping and resistance strategies adopted by women to ensure that the emphasis is not placed on the women themselves to do something about the violence. There is always the danger that women will be blamed for their actions or lack of action in dealing with the situation.

[9] See Chapter Nine for the scenarios in which men see their behaviour as justified.

'He threw a couple of coffee cups, one smashed the wall, the other hit me (he was frequently physically violent). He then started pushing the furniture around and tried to push the fridge over. He kept chucking things around. I'd been trying to clean up. He'd been giving me a lot of abuse about the state of the house. I was standing in the kitchen and had a mop in my hand and it was one of those with tassels on with a metal ring. He was standing in the kitchen doorway and he'd just turned his back to me. I was furious. I flipped. I remember one minute standing in the kitchen and the next minute I was actually watching the mop as it arched, it was like watching a slow moving film. I was aiming the metal ring at the back of his head and it was flying through the air. At that point he picked up our son and I realised it might hit him instead, so I moved slightly and it went through floorboards. I could have killed him.'

And thoughts of killing the man were found to be not uncommon:

'When you're lying there in bed holding parts of you, thinking I feel I've been hit by a bus and they just go to sleep. You think how could you after all that just go to sleep. And when they're asleep you think I could kill you now, that's how it gets to you. I know it must sound terrible, but you think go and get a knife or something you could easily do it.'

However, for many women, particularly those who had experienced violence for a number of years and had children, the preferred approach was to try to limit the violence by either avoiding certain situations they thought might lead to violence or in trying to get away from the man, particularly if he was drunk[10], by either moving to another room or leaving their home temporarily ('I used to walk around the streets until I felt he was likely to have calmed down or be asleep'). Indeed, after the relationship ended, some women, in order to avoid further

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[10] A significant number of woman saw the violence as caused by the man's drinking.

violence, moved from their home towns or cities, and in two cases to other countries[11].

Children

Many of the women with children reported that they were concerned about the affect that the violence had on them. Several women said they were worried that their children would grow up believing violence to be an acceptable part of a relationship ('It bothers me that the children, especially the boys, think that all women put up with being treated horrible and that violence against women especially wives is OK'). One woman commented,

> 'I didn't think the children were affected as it usually happened while they were in bed, until my son said, "aren't our neighbours strange, they hold hands, he takes her shopping, to work..". That pulled me up, I had to explain to him that is what a partnership should be like - give and take. It made me realise that they weren't sleeping through it, but were accepting it as normal behaviour. We were the normal couple, not the people next door, because they'd grown up with it from birth.'

And this made it hard for her to leave: for, 'if I said I wanted to go I got the attitude "but why?" (from the children), it made it very difficult because they didn't understand that it is not normal behaviour'.

Women also spoke of their children experiencing various

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[11] Resistance strategies can, in addition, be evidenced in women's attempts to obtain help from friends, family or agencies (see Chapter Eight).

emotional and behavioural affects (e.g. bed-wetting, 'feeling tense', refusing to eat, temper tantrums and outbursts of violence). One eight year old girl, after her father had left, went through a stage in which she thumped her mother, smashed the bannisters on the stairs and tried to jump out of a window. In another case, a thirteen year old boy was bullying a boy at school (that is, by humiliating and physically beating him) and his mother feared he was attempting to replicate his father's behaviour towards her. In a few cases violence was actually directed against children by the man. In one incident this only came to light after the relationship had ended: 'my son now talks about how he used to be bruised by his father as a small boy, he didn't tell me as he thought I would have taken my husband's side'.

However, many women said their partners were good fathers ('he idolised the children, they could have his last penny', 'he's devoted to the kids') and the children were, not surprisingly, very attached to them. The relationship between the children and their fathers serves to bind women into the relationship. In one case a woman went to a women's refuge but her little boy, aged five years, missed his father so much that he became ill:

> 'He lay in bed all weekend just burning up, I got a doctor to him, the doctor said there is nothing physically wrong with him, he is just pining. I felt I had no alternative but to go home. As he was only five I felt I couldn't just leave him with his father. There was no way out.'

And having children usually means that when a relationship ends

the majority of women have to remain in contact with their partners as a result of joint custody or access agreements.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the definitions of domestic violence given by women, the extent of this violence by sub-group and its impact. In the next chapter I will look at the response of women in terms of their reporting of the problem to friends, relatives and agencies; the explanations they put forward for men's violent behaviour and the basis of their decisions on whether to remain in or leave violent relationships.

CHAPTER EIGHT

VIOLENCE FROM HUSBANDS AND BOYFRIENDS II:

Reporting Patterns, Women's Explanations for Male Violence and Reasons for Remaining in a Violent Relationship

In order to estimate the level of demand on agencies and evaluate existing service provision, it is necessary to examine reporting patterns. This chapter presents the findings on levels of reporting of domestic violence, including variation by social group. It also examines women's satisfaction with the response they received and their assessment of what should be the appropriate reaction. The chapter concludes with a discussion of women's explanations for men's violent behaviour and their reasons for remaining in a violent relationship[1].

8.1 REPORTING OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Of those experiencing domestic violence the following people and agencies were informed:

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[1] Unless noted to the contrary, the findings, as in Chapter Eight, are from Stage 2 of the survey and the in-depth interviews.

TABLE 1: Reporting of the Violence

	Violence	
	at any time %	last 12 mnths %
Friend	46	36
Relative	31	29
General Practitioner	22	17
Police	22	14
Solicitor	21	12
Social Services	9	7
Women's Refuge	5	3
Victim Support	2	1
Citizen's Advice Bureaux	2	1
	n = 129	n = 43

10 per cent experiencing violence at any time and six per cent in the last 12 months said they had told another agency not specified on the questionnaire: these included the housing department, hospital doctor, therapist or a court official.

Obviously, the level of reporting is greater in every category in the 'have ever' figures as violence may only have just occurred in the last twelve months. Yet the patterning of reporting is similar whatever the time period. The predominant reporting of even such severe violence, as in the composite violence definition, is private, to friends and relatives. Pahl (1985) has pointed out that it is only when these informal

sources of support prove inadequate that women report to official agencies. The qualitative data showed that with respect to relatives it is mothers and sisters who are most likely to be told - a finding supported by previous research (Bowker, 1983; Pahl, 1985).

Of the agencies: general practitioners and the police are the two frontline agencies. The reporting to general practitioners is in line with the findings of the percentage of women who need medical attention (see Chapter Seven) and with the emphasis on keeping domestic violence private. For, given the restrictions placed on doctors with regards to confidentiality, what is revealed is seen as going no further than the consulting room. The finding that around one quarter of all life-time incidents are reported to the police is high compared to previous estimates. The Women's National Commission Report (1985), for example, suggests two per cent and Walker (1979) 10 per cent but such differences may merely reflect different definitions of what constitutes domestic violence. The figures used in the table above refer to a composite of domestic violence incidents all of which are incontestably actual physical assaults; if a wider definition of domestic violence were used (including mental cruelty, threats and very minor assaults) the figure for reporting to the police would fall to 11 per cent.

Although the finding that a quarter of those experiencing domestic violence (in accordance with our composite definition) report their assault to the police is high in terms of

comparative estimates it still, of course, reveals a high dark figure of violence which is a cause of concern. The Domestic Violence Units set up by the police across London since 1987 are a major step forward. But it is vital not only that women should have confidence in these new initiatives but also that they should <u>know</u> about them. As it is, only 41 per cent of women who had experienced domestic violence in the last 12 months and only 37 per cent of women in general had heard of the Units.

The above table also shows the proportion of women consulting a solicitor is high and, once again, emphasises the severity of the problem whilst creating worries as regards to the present cutbacks in legal aid. The small proportion contacting a women's refuge is likely to reflect their restricted finances and regrettably limited services they can provide. The majority of refuges in this country are run by Women's Aid. In 1990, London Women's Aid advice centre, which coordinates referrals to London refuges, reported that they were only able to make refuge placements for 40 per cent of over 5000 requests received that year (Victim Support, 1992).

8.1.1 <u>Reporting of the Violence by Class, Age and Ethnicity</u>

Reporting to the main agencies was broken down by class, age and ethnicity wherever the numbers were sufficiently large to allow this.

TABLE 2.1: Reporting by Class to Friends and Relatives, violence at any time

Class	Friend %	Relative %
Professional	57	48
Lower middle class	50	41
Working class	36	24

n = 127

TABLE 2.2: Reporting by Class to Agencies, violence any time

Class	GP %	Police %	Solicitor %	Any Agency %
Professional	10	19	19	29
Lower middle class	27	31	27	39
Working class	26	17	20	36

n = 127

Professionals are less likely to report domestic violence to an outside agency than any other class. They are also most likely to report to friends and relatives. They, therefore, have emerged as the most privatised of the class groupings. That professional women rarely report domestic violence - so will not

appear in the usual agency statistics - is likely to be one of the factors that has given weight to the myth that domestic violence is largely a problem for the lower socio-economic groups. One woman, an art dealer, commented that her social group only think of calling the police if their car is stolen or they are burgled. Indeed the police only became involved in her situation when her husband, from whom she was separated, broke into her house, entered her bedroom, and she pressed the emergency panic button by her bed which linked her house to the local police station in case of burglary.

In contrast, the lower middle class were found to be the most likely to go to a public agency particularly the police, although they also confide to friends to a considerable extent. The working class have the lowest reporting rates to the police, although they have comparatively high reporting rates to agencies overall, and are the least likely to confide in friends and relatives.

AGE

TABLE 3.1: Reporting by Age to Friends and Relatives, violence at any time

Age	Friend %	Relative %
16-24	27	40
25-34	46	23
35-44	54	36
45-54	58	23
55-64	36	27

n = 127

TABLE 3.2: Reporting by Age to Agencies, violence at any time

Age	GP %	Police %	Solicitor %	Any Agency %
16-24	7	7	13	27
25-34	17	26	26	40
35-44	29	11	21	39
45-54	31	36	23	38
55-64	27	40	18	36

n = 127

It is the youngest age group of women who are the least likely to report to a public agency particularly the police. They are also the least likely to tell friends although the most likely to confide in relatives. This may of course relate to the

duration of the relationship and/ or the violence.

ETHNICITY

TABLE 4.1: Reporting by Ethnicity to Friends and Relatives, violence at any time

Ethnicity	Friend %	Relative %
English/ Scottish/ Welsh	43	21
Irish	60	40
African-Caribbean	47	47
Other	33	30

n = 127

TABLE 4.2: Reporting by Ethnicity to Agencies, violence at any time

Ethnicity	GP %	Police %	Solicitor %	Any Agency %
English/ Scottish/ Welsh	19	22	21	42
Irish	20	27	20	47
African-Caribbean	47	41	41	52
Other	14	6	7	19

n = 127

African-Caribbeans are particularly likely to report domestic violence to public agencies particularly the police and general practitioners. It is worth mentioning that African-Caribbean

women were found in the last chapter to define domestic violence the least tolerantly. Perhaps surprisingly English, Scottish and Welsh women have the third lowest reporting rate to the police and to other agencies but are also less likely to tell friends and relatives. The Irish have a slightly higher reporting to outside agencies than the latter and a much higher reporting to friends and relatives. What is of interest here is the category 'other' which includes those of African, Asian, Turkish, Greek, Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot origin who have extremely low reporting rates both to public agencies and friends. None of the African women in the study had, for example, reported to the police.

8.1.2 Satisfaction with Response

Women were asked about the response they received from friends, relatives and the various agencies and how satisfied they were with the various responses.

Friends and Relatives

The response from friends and relatives varied considerably: some were 'wonderful', 'very supportive' and offered practical help, for example, temporary accommodation, whereas, others expressed disbelief, blamed the woman and even pressurized her into staying in the relationship. Relatives were the most likely

to respond negatively. One woman who had been hospitalized on several occasions as a result of her husband's violence was told by her family that if she brought charges against him to consider herself on her own. Another reported that her family said to her that the, 'woman's place is in the home and you married him for better or worse'. There is still today, despite our divorce statistics, an emphasis placed on preserving the image of a 'happy' family such as those presented in the advertisements for 'Bisto' or soap powder or the nuclear family idealised in present government policy.

General Practitioners

The majority of women who had informed their general practitioner in the past - that is before the last twelve months- were generally satisfied, reporting that she or he was sympathetic and had 'offered a listening ear'. Certainly in the early stages of a violent relationship women often said that all they wanted was to tell someone, to be believed: 'to feel that someone knew and was on my side was so important, it gave me back a little self-confidence.' On a practical level the general practitioner documented their injuries in case of legal action and on occasion suggested alternative living situations, for example, women's refuges. Women who had been to their general practitioner in the more recent period were less happy - frequently describing her or him as uninterested or too busy to listen. The latter criticism may well reflect general problems in the National Health Service and the increased work pressure

on doctors. It is important also to note that general practitioners in Islington, the survey location, have no access to domestic violence awareness training and few know of useful agencies or display posters or leaflets on the help that is available for women experiencing domestic violence.

Police

Background

The growing feminist awareness of domestic violence, discussed in Chapter Four, gave rise to a wider public concern. In 1986 the Metropolitan Police set up a Working Party to examine their handling of domestic violence. The police response had for some years been the cause for increasing concern within the community and police service. Research showed that the police were taking the attitude that domestic violence did not constitute 'real' crime and were placing it at the bottom of their list of priorities (Brokowski, 1983; Pahl, 1982; Edwards, 1986, 1989). It was argued that the police were reluctant to become involved because they placed a greater emphasis on privacy and marriage rights than on the woman's right to freedom from assault (Edwards, 1986, 1989). Feminists, as we have seen, suggest that the poor treatment traditionally given to women experiencing violence in the home is the result of the division of society into public and private spheres in which private (the home) is equated with personal and a policy of non-interference (Pahl, 1985; Hanmer and Maynard, 1987; Edwards, 1989; Hague and Malos, 1993).

The Working Party's report called for domestic violence to be treated as seriously as assaults occurring in the street and recommended the implementation of an approach which stressed:

- the arrest and prosecution of violent men
- improvement in police training and
- a multi-agency response

In addition, it proposed that every effort should be made to support the victim by:

- identifying a local reference point where they might obtain advice or counselling

- involving other local agencies in seeking solutions and establishing initiatives and,

- ensuring that all police officers attending an incident of domestic violence are able to offer compassionate and constructive advice (Metropolitan Police Force Order, June 1987).

Since this time various improvements in police practice have been made, for example, as mentioned above, the majority of police divisions in the Metropolitan area now have Domestic Violence Units. The three police divisions in the subsidiary study on policing, Holloway, West Hendon and Tottenham, all have Domestic Violence Units. Indeed the first unit was set up in 1987 at Tottenham Police Station. The Domestic Violence Units are typically run by two plain clothes police officers. Holloway and Tottenham Divisions are staffed by female officers, West Hendon by a male/ female team. All incidents of domestic

disputes or violence[2] recorded in the respective police divisions are referred to the Domestic Violence Units whose officers attempt to follow up the victims, offering them support, practical advice, often in the form of referral to social and voluntary organisations, and assistance with the legal process. Domestic Violence Units are expected to operate on two levels: firstly, to provide support for the victim and secondly, to act as a reminder to all police officers of their duty to respond to this form of interpersonal violence. In its first year the Domestic Violence Unit at Tottenham received 1,000 calls and its work was widely praised (see Horley, 1988).

Deferred Decision[3]. At the time of the research West Hendon Police Division was also operating a pilot scheme known as deferred decision for dealing with what are perceived to be minor assaults. This was originally introduced at Streatham Police Station. The first stage of 'deferred decision' involves the arrest of the perpetrator. Many of the men arrested spent a night in police custody as a result. The next stage, 'is to defer the decision to prosecute and consider processing the case by way of adult caution' (Streatham Division Report, 1989). If

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[2] The Metropolitan Police define a domestic dispute as, 'any quarrel including violence between family or household members', and domestic violence as occurring, 'when a person or persons causes, attempts to cause, or threatens to cause physical harm to another family or household member' (Metropolitan Police Force Order, 1987).

[3] This approach was later dropped following fears that it contravened aspects of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. There was also concern that it could result in cases that should be prosecuted being diverted from the criminal justice system (Personal Communication - Scotland Yard Policy Unit).

applicable the offender is bailed to return to the police station after an initial 'cooling-off' period of two months. A record is kept of the caution and a previous caution may influence a subsequent decision with regards to prosecution and it may be cited if the offender is later found guilty of an offence by the court. It was believed that the process of arresting the man - even though prosecution was not thought possible - would act as a deterrent.

Satisfaction With Response

Women who had been to the police prior to the changes in policy outlined above were extremely critical of their response. Here are just some of their comments:

'It was a terrible response and infact its always stopped me from calling them again. It's about 15 years ago and one police man came and my Dad was there, my Dad wanted to kill him (husband). The police man said, "if you go and attack him I'll nick you". When the police man left my husband was laughing, he said, "even the Old Bill say don't hit you in the face, hit her where it don't show". I couldn't believe it, that a police man could say, "never hit a woman on the head, hit her where it's not going to show", but it was true.'

'The police were reluctant to do anything, they said because I was divorced they couldn't help.'

'The police were very rude and uncooperative in other words they didn't want to know.'

'They treated it like a joke'

'They weren't very nice, infact they were terrible. They spoke to me like an idiot.'

'They did nothing even when I ran to the police station after he threatened to kill me and was chasing me.'

'I rang the police but they said they didn't get involved in domestic problems.'

Those women who had sought help in the more recent period were, in contrast, generally pleased with their treatment, particularly if they had been in contact with a Domestic Violence Unit. The police officers running the Units were reported to be supportive and helpful: West Hendon Domestic Violence Unit was highly praised by all the women interviewed in that area. And none of the women minded being interviewed by a male police officer, he was described as 'really nice', 'very sympathetic and understanding', a 'good listener' and so on. The personality and commitment of the officers involved was deemed to be more important than their gender. The majority of women also reported that they wanted their partner arrested if only to get him out of the house to give them a 'breathing space'. In those cases, where arrests were made, women said it made them feel protected. They felt safer that the police were taking action not themselves. For this reason cautioning was more popular than prosecution for in the latter instance the woman would have to appear in court in front of her partner.

'The Domestic Violence Unit was very good, they were very understanding even when I decided to drop the charges.' (Tottenham Police Division).

'The police were very nice. My husband had left the house but they waited with me to make sure everything was OK. I really would have liked him arrested though because...he'd bashed the living daylights out of me and for him that was

it finished. The Domestic Violence Unit rang three times to see if I was OK...they said if you want us to come down or if you want to come in, any problems just ring us straight away. I couldn't believe it that they'd rung me...I'd definitely call the police again.' (Tottenham Police Division).

'The police came, there were about two or three officers, they were clearly angry at the state I was in. They said "let's go and arrest the bastard". My husband's arm was broken in the police van. He knows he can't hit me again as I'll call the police. My daughter did it last time, next time I'll do it. It's made me feel much safer. I was pleased with the police. I would advise others to call. The Domestic Violence Unit was generally good, gave me advice on solicitors etc.' (Tottenham Police Division).

'The Domestic Violence Unit was marvellous, if it had been there a few years ago I probably would have gone through with what I'm doing now (injunction and divorce proceedings) and got out sooner. They gave me all the options, they were very supportive. The police arrested him and kept him in over night he was so shocked. When they came in he (husband) said, "but I thought you didn't interfere in domestics". I was so pleased it gave me time to calm down and get myself together. When I went to court G and S (the officers at the Unit) came with me, they even picked me up. It made me feel much better as he threw out a lot of abuse at me in court, saying he was going to get me. Later he kept trying to come to the house but the police warned him away. I feel much more secure, I know I just have to pick up the phone and he knows that too. I don't think a lot of people know about Domestic Violence Units, I wish they did, if violent husbands knew it would act as a deterrent.' (West Hendon Police Division).'

'The Domestic Violence Unit were excellent. I didn't think the police could be so nice. They came to see me (officers from the Unit), they told me what I could do. G (male police officer) was especially good, he even sat down and played with the children. It was such a massive improvement on the last time I called.' (West Hendon Police Division).

'I rang the police for advice, they were very sympathetic but practical too in telling me what I could do. I feel good that they now treat this sort of thing seriously.' (Holloway Police Division).

Where the police did come in for specific criticism was with respect to the length of time it took them to get to an incident - in one case it was over two hours before they arrived - and it emerged that there was still a tendency for the police, with the exception of West Hendon Police Division, to do little at the scene apart from mediate and refer the woman to the Domestic Violence Unit. A couple of women also mentioned the difficulties of getting through to the Domestic Violence Unit on the telephone as they were either put through to an answer machine or the line was engaged. Some said they wished they were open 24 hours a day and at weekends - as incidents often happened at night or the weekend and they felt it was then that they needed advice on their options although the Metropolitan Police argue that all police officers, i.e. those attending the scene, should be able to give them the necessary advice.[1]

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[1] Two women, in addition, said the killing of Vandana Patel by her husband in Stoke Newington Police Station had not given them confidence in the recent police initiatives. The Patel's had been given a room in the station, which has a well established Domestic Violence Unit, to discuss their problems. The police neglected to search Mr Patel, who was carrying a knife, and to adequately supervise the situation. In the aftermath of the killing, the Chief Superintendent defended their approach by stating that the, 'police were providing no more than a park bench on which they could talk, we were providing an extended social service'!

Solicitor

Women generally contacted a solicitor for advice or action on separation or divorce proceedings, child custody and injunctions[5]. In this study, most of the comments made about solicitors were negative: they were described as 'unsympathetic', 'dismissive'; having 'failed to understand the severity of the situation', 'said nothing about the violence' and given bad advice. Women, in addition, spoke of the difficulties of getting legal aid. One woman's solicitor became verbally abusive to her when she dropped divorce proceedings for the third time, 'he was extremely angry (at her), very rude and said if I didn't go through with it not to come back and that in future I would be rejected for legal aid'. This was despite being well informed of the violence and her reasons for stopping the action: she was at the time under pressure from both of their families and feared reprisals. Women who had been referred to a solicitor by a Domestic Violence Unit, however, reported greater satisfaction with the response they received. Presumably this is because these solicitors are likely to have been selected for their understanding and experience of domestic violence cases.

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[5] An injunction is a court order aimed at restraining the woman's partner from assaulting or molesting her (a 'non-molestation order'), it may be accompanied by an order which excludes him from the home (an 'exclusion order' or 'ouster'). A power of arrest may also be attached. The equivalent provisions are termed 'personal' or 'family protection' orders in the magistrates court.

Women's Refuges

Women who had gone to a refuge were almost without exception very impressed with the response they received. They were described as offering 'valuable support', 'a safe atmosphere', '100 per cent good'. One woman stated, 'it was so good to be among women who were on my side'. Other studies have found women to be similarly appreciative of refuges (Binney et al; 1985). Bowker, 1983)

Overcrowding was considered to be the main problem with refuges:

> 'They're good places, the staff were excellent, but there are too many people in them which leads to arguments and the children fight. Just because you've been through similar things doesn't mean you are going to get on, especially in a small space.'

However, women who had chosen not to go to refuges said they thought them to be unpleasant places - overcrowded, difficult if they had children and disruptive for the children in terms of school. In particular, women with teenage boys cited the fact that they do not take boys of this age group. Perhaps because of these negative perceptions most of those who went to refuges had experienced severe violence, including the fear of being killed, or were cases where the partner had started being violent to the children.

Social Services

When social services were contacted it was for advice over housing and children. No strong feelings - either positive or negative - came out of the data. 'They gave advice' was the standard reply to questions on their response with little in the way of elaboration. Three women, however, reported they had considered going to social services but were worried that their children might be taken into care as a result.

Victim Support/ Citizen's Advice Bureaux

Given the small numbers contacting these organisations - no general comments can be made about their response.

Other Agencies

As stated above 10 per cent of women experiencing violence at any time and six per cent in the last 12 months told other agencies not specified on the questionnaire. The main agencies cited were the housing department and the courts.

Housing Department

Women were very dissatisfied with the response from the housing department, particularly those who had contacted them in the recent period. They were frequently told that the housing waiting list was full, that it would be years before they could

expect to be rehoused and their only option was bed and breakfast accommodation. One woman wrote:

> 'If I had somewhere to go I would leave. I have no where to go. I've been to the housing department and they say all they can offer me is B & B. I don't want to do that. I don't think its fair on the children.'

It is important to note that when asked what factors they thought prevented women from leaving a violent relationship, 26 per cent of women who had experienced domestic violence stated 'nowhere to go/ lack of affordable accommodation' (see Section 8.5).

The Courts

The majority of women who told a court of their experiences did so in order to obtain a injunction. All said it was a very distressing experience and several women found the injunction had a limited effect - the man ignored it and in two cases it provoked him into committing more violence. Brokowski et al in their study of agencies discovered that solicitors frequently had reservations about the effectiveness of the law with respect to domestic violence: 'an injunction is a piece of paper - it can keep a bloke away but if he is determined to get her he will' (1983: 137). In the few instances that involved the prosecution of the man, women spoke of being frightened, worried about not being believed and, given that only three of those interviewed for the survey reported that legal action resulted in a

successful prosecution, it was generally described as being a waste of time. Where there was a successful prosecution, the women expressed dismay at the low sentences; non-custodial sentences in particular were seen as leaving them vulnerable to reprisals:

> 'My husband threw me over the balcony, I received very severe injuries, he was just given probation. It was a travesty of justice. I'm scared if he finds me I'll end up dead.'

Furthermore, unlike police intervention, court action is considered as more directly involving the woman, that is, it is she who presses charges or requests an injunction, and thus, feels - and is frequently seen by the man and his family - to blame. This serves to fuel the situation. For this reason a typical comment was that, 'it needs to be seen to be taken out of the woman's hands so she is not seen as responsible'.

Women found it difficult coming face-to-face with the man in the court and waiting area. Many were horrified to find they met in the waiting area whilst both the formality of the court and its public nature was intimidating. For example:

> 'When I went for an injunction, my friend came with me which was a good thing as I went all wobbly, I'm such a confident person usually. After we got the injunction we walked to the carpark and he (husband) was walking behind me, he was going to the same bloody carpark. If I'd been alone at that point I don't know what I'd have done, gone and hid in the loo or something. I had to go to another court for the children's custody case, again we were both sitting in the same corridor waiting for our respective briefs to come and that was horrid, and when his came before mine I felt very vulnerable, he kept saying that's the one over there in a

very loud voice and pointing at me. It was very intimidating.'

'I went to court it was the worse time of my life. My husband was in one dock - me in another. I was shaking like a leaf. I was on my own, I have no family here. My husband's father was with him - he stared at me all the time. It was so awful and in front of everyone, the public gallery was full. The courts let everyone in - they giggle and snigger, it's a day out to them. The Crown Court's worse the judge and barristers all being in wigs and stuff.'

'He threw out a lot of abuse in court, saying he was going to get me for bringing charges. I was frightened but determined, it helped having S & G there (officers from West Hendon Domestic Violence Unit). However, the charges were dropped to common assault and he just got a £200 fine. My son had made a statement but he dropped out, it is very hard to give evidence against your father. If they could have read his statement out it would have been OK - but to go to court was too hurtful.'

Those women who withdraw their legal action do so chiefly because they are worried about reprisals, worried about the court process and for financial reasons (i.e. having a criminal record could affect the man's job and therefore financial support for children). Thus,

'I dropped the charges as I didn't want him to have a criminal record as he had a good job. I wanted the children to be properly supported financially. If he had gone to court he might have lost his job.'

'I was scared that if he went to jail he would be worse when he got out so I withdrew. If it had gone to court without me being there that would have been better. They've got all the details, a signed statement. Why can't you be represented by a solicitor. All of his family would have been there.'

8.2 NON-REPORTING OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

There were a significant number of women interviewed for the survey who had not told anyone of their experiences: 38 per cent of women who had suffered violence at sometime in their lives and 45 per cent of those in the last 12 months. This is clearly a worrying finding. One women who had been subjected to violence for over two decades said she had not told anyone or sought help because of 'embarrassment and I consider it a private matter'. Another who had been in a violent relationship for over five years wrote, 'to tell someone, even a friend, would make matters worse and they're bad enough'. Indeed the possibility of fuelling an already volatile situation by informing someone, thereby leading to further violence, was a commonly expressed worry. With respect to non-reporting to an agency, women spoke of being unaware that help was available, that they were worried about not being treated seriously or, in some cases, too seriously, resulting in being compelled to take legal action against their wishes or their children being taken into care. The emotional damage caused by domestic violence, being made to feel worthless and therefore undeserving of agency intervention was, in addition, cited by a number of women. As one commented:

> 'You lose all value of your self, if you are constantly told you are worthless, you begin to believe you are. You feel you don't have the right to any attention, advice or any professional people to spend any of their time with you. You feel you've asked for it and should cope with it on your own.'

Non-Reporting to the Police

Women who had not reported an incident of violence occurring in the last 12 months to the police were asked why they had not. The results are presented in rank order in Table 5.

TABLE 5: Reasons Why Women Did Not Report Their Victimisation in the Last 12 Months to the Police

Reason:	%
1. Would not do any good	26
2.= Not serious enough	24
2.= Police would not treat it seriously	24
4. Afraid of reprisals from the man	19
5. Don't like to inform the police	14
6. Embarrassed	12
7. Worried about possible publicity	7

Just under a quarter of respondents did not think the matter was serious enough. The qualitative data showed that women generally only report what they consider to be extreme physical violence, that is, attempted strangulation, broken bones and severe bruising. One woman said, 'he's slapped me, punched me and thrown things at me before, but it's not been that bad. I wouldn't call the police over that'. Only in one case did a

woman call the police after the first incident. A similar proportion did not believe the police would be effective or would take it seriously. And one in five were too frightened. It is in these cases that the police must get across - and ensure they live-up-to - their message that an assault in the home is: 'as much a criminal act as one which may occur in the street' (Metropolitan Police Force Order, 1987). It is clearly essential that not only do women know about the new police initiatives (i.e. Domestic Violence Units) but they should also have confidence in them.

Furthermore, two women expressed concern that they might be compelled to go to court if they sought police assistance. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984 allows for reluctant witnesses to be compelled to give evidence in court. And one women said she could not report because her husband is a police officer!

8.3 WHAT WOMEN WOULD LIKE TO HAPPEN[6]

Women who had experienced domestic violence were asked what three responses they thought most appropriate in cases where, 'a man is frequently assaulting his wife or girlfriend'. The results are recorded in Table 6.

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[6] These questions were asked by the interviewer in Stage 1 of the survey and crosstabulated with women who said they had experienced domestic violence in Stage 2. To have included them in Stage 2 would have made the self-complete questionnaire too long.

TABLE 6: Most Common Three Responses, percentages

Responses:	DV, at any time %	DV, last 12 months %
Nothing	0.7	0
To get support from a friend	30	20
To get help and advice from social services, Women's Aid or another similar organisation	68	63
For the couple to sort it out between themselves	15	17
For the man to receive counselling or therapy on his own	24	29
For both of them to receive joint counselling or therapy	44	44
For the man to be arrested and suitably punished	43	55
For the couple to separate for a 'cooling off period'	25	24
For the man to leave home for good	28	29
For the woman to leave home for good	13	12
	n = 127	n = 41

Note those experiencing domestic violence in the last 12 months were likely to be still in the relationship, those experiencing it at anytime include a significant number whose relationship had ended. Table 6 shows greatest backing for help and advice from

agencies and a significant need for counselling, this was confirmed by the findings from the in-depth interviews:

> 'I feel I need more support, advice and probably some form of counselling. I think long-term support is essential. I feel so lonely, I need to talk about my experiences. It would make me feel so much better. A support group where I could meet women who were going through similar things would help.'

> 'Support from some form of organisation, somewhere or someone that you can go and talk to. I know they can't solve the problems, but to try and help you understand your problems and how to deal with it and why he does it which you can't understand. A bit more support (from agencies), ongoing support is what I'd like.'

Around one half of women thought it appropriate 'for the man to be arrested and suitably punished'. When asked what they considered to be the most appropriate punishment women were, once again, generally in favour of the less punitive response: 'arrested and cautioned' was the most frequent reply. Many women said they were concerned about reprisals if the punishment was more severe. However, a minority of women believed that longer prison sentences might offer them some 'protection' by keeping the man out of circulation.

8.4 WOMEN'S EXPLANATIONS FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Women interviewed for the survey were presented with the following open-ended question: why do you think some men use physical violence against their wives and girlfriends? The main replies from women who had experienced domestic violence were as follows: 'reinforces feelings of power'/ 'makes them feel important' (36%), 'they are insecure'/ 'cannot deal with their feelings' (36%), 'alcohol' (17%). Thus a major reason why women see domestic violence as occurring is that of control. That is it allows men to maintain power in their relationship, in situations where they feel insecure and unable to express and negotiate their feelings in non-violent ways. Undoubtedly alcohol precipitates this situation of violence but it cannot, of course, be seen, as other commentators have pointed out, as a reason in itself (see Russell, 1982).[7]

8.5 THE FACTORS THAT PREVENT WOMEN FROM LEAVING A VIOLENT RELATIONSHIP

Women were also asked what factors they thought prevented women from leaving a violent relationship. Women who had experienced domestic violence most frequently cited: economic dependence (27%), hope that their partner will change (27%), nowhere to go/ lack of affordable accommodation (26%), children/ break up of family home (20%) and fear of further violence (19%). As can be

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[7] The public's explanations for domestic violence are also discussed in Chapter Two.

seen material circumstances (money, accommodation, children) are of great importance:

> 'It's difficult to walk out because of the children. It's humiliating to leave and it feels as if you've failed if you leave a marriage. I've just tried to stay and make it work.'

> 'My children are young, if I left I'd need to earn a reasonable sum of money to keep us. But how? Because then I'd need childcare. It's impossible - its the lesser of the two evils, I just hope things will improve. Sometimes it's not so bad.'

But there are also 27 per cent of women who hope their partner will change, that is, it is not material circumstances alone which keep them in the relationship.

> 'I've always thought it can't go on for ever...you always think he might change and people have been known to change, although people will say, "a leopard will never change his spots" but I've felt its dying off, not so bad. I hope as he'll get older he'll mellow a bit. I've left many times. I know he'll never go. But its difficult you can't drag your kids from place to place. It doesn't work people don't want you with little children apart from a day or so.'

Indeed the level of emotional involvement that exists in a relationship must not be underestimated,

> 'I love my husband, I've always done. I don't like being on my own, I've no family, he's all I've got.'

And, as we have seen, it is not uncommon for there to be periods when no violence occurs. Men also frequently express remorse, they vow they will never do it again. One man actually

went as far as to cut his finger off saying he felt sorry for all the years he had been violent to his wife. He said that he wanted to put the record straight. A significant number of women, however, stay because they fear further violence: 'If I left he would always try to get me, hassle me'.

Finally, it should be noted that when a woman leaves she is in many ways alone. It is she who has to bear the brunt both financially and emotionally of the break up. As one woman commented,

> 'It's the bits when you are under pressure and you are on your own that you really feel like giving in...It would be nice if someone could be there 24 hours a day to help you through it. It's when you go to bed and close your eyes that the pressure is on. You think of things people have said to you. Children are used as a way of emotionally blackmailing you to stick in with someone.'[8]

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[8]Many of the women had made several attempts to leave but returned for the reasons cited in this section.

CHAPTER NINE

VIOLENCE FROM HUSBANDS AND BOYFRIENDS III:

Findings from the Vignettes

9.1 WHAT DO MEN SAY?

Male Attitudes To and Use of Violence Against Wives and Girlfriends

In order to ensure that the study focused both on women and men, Stage 1 of the survey included a section solely addressed to male respondents concerning their attitudes to and use of violence against wives and girlfriends. With this in mind a series of vignettes were constructed detailing stereotypical 'conflict' situations. As noted in Chapter Six, it was thought that if men were asked directly whether they would use violence their likely response would be negative, but if presented with a 'conflict' situation - which could be interpreted as an excuse for such behaviour - this might encourage both a more honest and higher rate of response. The vignettes were based on the findings of previous studies (see Dobash and Dobash, 1992) and also from in-depth interviews conducted in the pilot stage of the study, in which women were asked how their husbands or boyfriends had justified or rationalised their behaviour.

Each man was asked whether he would use violence in a situation where his partner had been unfaithful with a close friend of his,

unfaithful with someone he did not know, arrived home late at night without having told him she would be late, neglected household duties, 'nagged' him, neglected the children, hit him or when they were both in the heat of the quarrel. Men were allowed to choose from three responses: 1. 'I could see myself hitting her even though it would not be the right thing to do'; 2. 'I could see myself hitting her and I would be justified' and 3. 'I would not hit her'. As we have seen from the qualitative work with women many report their partners as irrationally sexual jealous ('I had to give up working in the pub because he said in between pulling pints I'd go out the back to have sex with someone and go back to pulling another pint. It was so ridiculous.') and Liz Kelly (1988a) comments that accusations of 'nagging' and 'arguing back' are often used by violent men to justify their behaviour. The utilization of a wide range of situations in the vignettes enables us to break out of the conception that only a minority of men are capable of violence towards their partners (see Chapters Two and Three). Many men, as I will show, would be likely to be violent in several of the situations.

An immediate objection to this approach is simply that the male respondents will lie in the presence of an interviewer. That is their actual behaviour would be much more violent than the responses. This may well be true but it has to be stressed that such data gives us a baseline. It enables us to say that <u>at least</u> this proportion of men would be liable to violence. Moreover, it allows us to ascertain that group who see it as a

legitimate response. That is, they would not only see violence as a likely outcome but as a legitimate action on their part. Thus it makes the useful sociological distinction between behaviour and values. A proportion of the respondents are avowedly violent: they see it not just as a lapse in behaviour but a value or norm which they would ascribe. This group, of course, are extremely likely to be violent when confronted with actual or perceived situations. All of this, of course, would be of little interest if very few respondents were willing to admit their liability to violence. But a considerable proportion of men were willing to admit that they would be violent. It thus provides a significant baseline concerning the propensity to violence in our sample of men.

Results

Tables 1 and 2 reveal the percentage of men perceiving themselves likely to hit their partner and the percentage admitting they have actually hit their partner, analysed in terms of the vignettes.

TABLE 1: Percentage of Men Perceiving Themselves as Likely to Hit Their Partner, by vignette

Vignette:	Total likely to hit %	Hit: justified %	Hit: unjustified %	Wouldn't hit %	Don't Know/ Refused %
A. Sex with a close friend	29	12	17	54	17
B. Sex with someone unknown to him	28	12	16	56	17
C. Arrives back late at night without telling him she was going to be late	3	2	1	86	12
D. Persistent neglect of household duties	3	1	2	87	11
E. Persistent 'nagging'	5	3	2	83	12
F. Persistent neglect of children	11	7	4	74	15
G. Hits you	24	15	9	60	16
H. Heat of a quarrel	12	5	7	68	20

n = 429

TABLE 2: Percentage of Men Hitting Their Partner, by vignette

Vignette:	Have hit their partners %
A. Sex with a close friend	5
B. Sex with someone unknown to him	5
C. Arrives back late at night without telling him she was going to be late	1
D. Persistent neglect of household duties	2
E. Persistent 'nagging'	4
F. Persistent neglect of children	3
G. Hits you	10
H. Heat of a quarrel	12

n = 429

From Table 1 the likelihood of violence can be divided into three groups:

1. SEXUAL INFIDELITY (A & B): here just under one third of all men say they would be liable to hit their partners. There is no difference between sex with a stranger or with a close friend. Of these one in eight would see the assault as justified: these men clearly view their wives or girlfriends as their sexual property.

2. QUARRELS (G & H): a quarter of men say they would hit their partner if she hit them and 15 per cent of all men would see this as justified. In fact this is the most justified violence of the vignettes. A lesser proportion, 12 per cent, would be liable to commit violence in the heat of a quarrel. As we saw in examining the qualitative data, it is not unusual for women to use violence against their abusive partners and for this to be subsequently used by the man to excuse his behaviour.

3. DOMESTIC DISPUTES (C, D, E, F). This is the least likely category for assault to be perceived as liable to occur. The one exemption is neglect of children.

However, if we turn to the question of whether the men interviewed have hit their partners in each vignette, a slightly different pattern emerges (Table 2). Quarrels become the most frequent situation (one in ten admit to violence), sexual infidelity is second (one in twenty) and least common is domestic

disputes where between one and four per cent have hit their partners. This divergence in pattern between actual violence and perceptions of likelihood of violence is, of course, to be expected because of the differences in frequency of such occasions. Quarrels are much more likely than sexual transgressions, whether actual or perceived, of the type listed in the vignettes. Nevertheless the occurrence of physical violence is obviously very common, confirming the other findings presented in this report. And once again, one is talking about a baseline, no doubt there will be a considerable underestimation of actual violence because of lying or indeed questioning whether the assault was serious enough to mention.

The Range of Violence

It is of interest to find over what range of the vignettes men would estimate their likelihood of acting violently. To do this the responses from each vignette have been added to create a nine point scale from 0 to 8. Thus, if a respondent would act violently in none of the vignettes he scored zero, if in all eight.

TABLE 3: Percentage of Men Who Would See Themselves as Liable to Act Violently, by number of vignettes

No of vignettes:	%
0	37
1	10
2	10
3	9
4	10
5	5
6	1
7	2
8	17
Average Score	2.9

n = 429

From this we can see that only 37 per cent of men would claim that they would never act violently, about half would respond violently in up to two of the vignettes and 17 per cent would act violently to every example. The average score is just under three instances. It goes without saying that the 17 per cent of men who would act violently on every occasion represent a considerable number of men.

This scoring system can also be used on men who admit to hitting their partners in the situations of the various vignettes.

TABLE 4: Percentage of Men Who Have Hit Their Partners, by number of vignettes

No of vignettes:	%
0	81
1	12
2	3
3	1
4	1
5	2
6	
7	
8	
Average Score	0.38

n = 429

It should be noted that this is a prevalence rate not an incidence rate. Many of these men would have hit their partners several times. It does, however, show that 19 per cent of men have acted violently to their partners at least once within the range of incidents presented to them, seven per cent in two or

more of the situations. This scoring system allows the examination of the class position of the men who admit to hitting their partners on at least one occasion.

Men's Class Position

The data on men's actual use of violence was broken down by class in the light of the controversies in this area. The findings are presented in Table 5. As can be seen, no evidence was found to support the position of many previous researchers that domestic violence is largely a working class phenomenon (McClintock, 1963; Straus, 1977; Gelles and Cornell, 1985; Schwartz, 1988; Young, 1986; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991). As the table below shows domestically violent men occur fairly equally in all parts of the class structure. The rates for professional and working class men were almost identical although lower middle class men were somewhat less likely.

TABLE 5: Actual Use of Violence in One or More of the Vignettes, by class

Class	Had hit %
Professional	20
Lower middle class	17
Working class	21

n = 429

9.2 WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO THE VIGNETTES

The vignettes were, in addition, presented to 100 women who were asked if they could envisage their partner hitting them in any of the 'conflict' situations and whether they thought the violence was justified or not. As we have seen from the in-depth interviews many women blame themselves for the violence. The results are detailed in Table 6.

TABLE 6: Percentage of Women Perceiving Themselves Liable to Violence, by vignette

Vignette:	Total likely to be hit %	Hit: justified %	Hit: unjustified %	Wouldn't be hit %	Don't Know/ Refused %
Sex with a close friend	34	21	13	47	19
Sex with someone unknown to him	30	18	12	50	21
Arrives back late at night without telling him was going to be late	7	4	3	83	10
Persistent neglect of household duties	6	6	0	79	15
Persistent 'nagging'	11	7	4	75	14
Persistent neglect of children	16	12	4	65	19
You hit him	28	21	7	55	18
Heat of a quarrel	13	4	9	67	20

n = 100

The immediate fact which strikes one in examining Table 6 is that women have almost identical assessments of their likelihood of being assaulted as men's of their liability to assault (see Table 2 above). The exception is the least likely assault category: disputes over domestic duties, where women see assault more likely than do men. In Tables 7 and 8 the male and female responses have been put in rank order illustrating their general similarity.

TABLE 7: Perceived Likelihood of Hitting or Being Hit by a Partner, Men and Women in Rank Order in terms of each Vignette.

Vignette:	Men %	Women %
Sex with a close friend	29 (1)	34 (1)
Sex with someone unknown to him	28 (2)	30 (2)
She hit you/ you hit him	24 (3)	28 (3)
Heat of a quarrel	12 (4)	13 (5)
Persistent neglect of children	11 (5)	16 (4)
Persistent 'nagging'	5 (6)	11 (6)
She arrives back late at night without telling him she was going to be late	3 (7)	7 (7)
Persistent neglect of household duties	3 (8)	6 (8)
	n = 429	n = 100

RANK ORDER IN BRACKETS

TABLE 8: Perception of Hitting by Male Partner Being Justified for Men and Women in Rank Order in terms of each Vignette

Vignette:	Men %	Women %
She hits you/ you hit him	15 (1)	21(=1)
Sex with close friend	12(=2)	21(=1)
Sex with someone unknown to him	12(=2)	18 (3)
Persistent neglect of children	7 (4)	12 (4)
Heat of a quarrel	5 (5)	4(=7)
Persistent 'nagging'	3 (6)	7 (5)
She arrives back late at night without telling him she was going to be late	2 (7)	4(=7)
Persistent neglect of household duties	1 (8)	6 (6)
	n = 429	n = 100

RANK ORDER IN BRACKETS

What is blatantly clear from these findings is that very many women see violence as the likely outcome of 'transgressions' on their part. The role of male violence as a control mechanism for women's behaviour is apparent. But the social dimension of this mechanism is further revealed if we look at Table 8 where I have compared male and female assessments of whether the assault is justified. Once again the rank order is similar with the exception of the least likely causes of assault. But more importantly women are willing to accept that such attacks are justified. That is as a control mechanism it is strengthened by being seen not only to be behaviourally likely but to be normatively justified.

Indeed, superficially, many women would seem to see the assault as more justified than do men. This latter finding is undoubtedly flawed when one considers the psychology of answering this question by gender. Men, on being asked their likelihood of violence will undoubtedly be placed on the defensive. They may well admit that they would act violently but they are more likely to claim that it would be an act 'on the spur of the moment' and not morally justified. Hence, the lower levels of justified violence by vignette than those of women.

But conversely, a significant proportion of women do view violence as being justified. This group do not, as one might have expected, see it likely but unjustified. It is, however, important to take on board this finding in the context of the fact that a <u>majority</u> of women would not see violence as

justified. For given that over one half of women in every circumstance would see themselves as not likely to be hit and very many of these would see violence as unjustified, these added to those who although see themselves as liable to violence view it as wrong, would constitute a clear majority.

The Range of Violence

The scoring system used for men (see above) was also applied to women's responses, to allow us to look at the number of incidents in which women would perceive themselves as liable to be the recipients of violence.

TABLE 9: Percentage of Women who see Their Partner as Liable to Act Violently, by number of vignettes

No of vignettes:	%
0	35
1	5
2	7
3	14
4	10
5	3
6	5
7	3
8	18
Average Score	4.9

n = 100

Thus, 35 per cent of women said their partners would not act violently in any of the situations, 18 per cent said they would on every example, 61 per cent in two or more of the vignettes.

Note that of those women who responded to this section who had <u>not</u> reported on the supplementary questionnaires that they had been threatened with violence or experienced actual physical violence, slightly over half said they would expect their partner

to hit them if one or more of the situations occurred. That there has been no violence of this nature may well be due to avoidance of such 'conflict' situations which indicates that the behaviour of some women in domestic relationships is controlled by the possibility of male violence.

In addition, these findings may be taken to indicate that contrary to popular myth women who experience physical violence from their male partners are not weak and passive, but are those who in word and deed have challenged male power and refused to allow their behaviour to be curtailed by the threat of male violence[1].

Conclusion

These results clearly illustrate not only widespread use of violence against wives and girlfriends by men but also high levels of acceptance of violence against women. In terms of policy we need to explore ways of reducing this acceptance.

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[1] See also Coping and Resistance Strategies in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER TEN

VIOLENCE, SPACE AND GENDER:

The Social and Spatial Parameters of Violence Against Women and Men

Chapters Seven to Nine have explored women's experiences of violence from husbands and boyfriends. This chapter widens the study out to examine the social and spatial parameters of violence against both women and men from known and unknown persons. That is it delineates the overall level of violence, the social characteristics of victims and perpetrators and its location, in terms of public and private space. This enables the testing of various hypotheses derived from both the theoretical literature and popularly held assumptions about the nature of violence in contemporary society.

A Note on the Method Used

In Stage 1 of the North London Domestic Violence Survey women and men were asked by an interviewer whether anyone, including close friends or members of their family had threatened them or used any form of physical violence against them in their home (ie

the private sphere) or in a public place in the last 12 months[1]. A sample of all violent incidents was then obtained by asking about the last incident that had occurred; this facilitated the collecting of more detailed information regarding the specific nature of the violence, its impact and the relationship of the victim to the perpetrator. Since more women than men were interviewed the data was weighted.

To investigate in addition women's experiences of other forms of violence, questions were also included on sexual harassment, indecent exposure and sexual assaults from unknown men in public space. The findings from Stage 2 of the survey in relation to sexual assaults and rapes occurring on 'dates' (where the couple have been out together on not more than five occasions) and those involving family members (excluding husbands and boyfriends[2]) are also discussed in this chapter. Such offences usually take place in private.

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[1] In this section of the project in order to analyse the experience of violence by gender it was necessary to use exactly the same method and questions for both male and female respondents. Thus, for practical reasons (e.g, finance, time and to avoid respondent fatigue) it was not possible to explore definitions of violence or to use self-complete questionnaires.

[2] Sexual violence from husbands and boyfriends, including ex-partners, is discussed in Chapter Seven.

10.1 THE FOCUSING OF VIOLENCE AS PRESENTED IN THE LITERATURE

Let us recapitulate on the main points made by new administrative criminologists, left realists, the family violence theorists and radical feminists on the focusing of violence:

New Administrative Criminologists

New administrative criminologists have tended to downplay the problem of crime. The findings of the various sweeps of the national British Crime Survey conducted by the Home Office have shown the risk of violent victimisation to be low and less common than non-violent property offences which are themselves presented as infrequent occurrences (Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Hough and Mayhew, 1985; Mayhew et al, 1988; Mayhew et al, 1993). Thus, one of the conclusions of the 1984 survey was that:

> Offences involving violence are very heavily outweighed by offences involving theft and damage to property. Some undercounting of non-stranger violence in the survey is likely, but present figures show wounding, robbery, sexual offences and common assaults to comprise only 17% of all BCS offences (Excluding common assaults, the figure was 5%). (Hough and Mayhew, 1985: 16).

With respect to the focusing of violence the 'typical' victim is presented in the British Crime Surveys not as someone who is 'defenceless' or elderly but as a man, aged under 30 years, single, widowed or divorced, who spends several evenings out a week, drinks heavily and has assaulted others. Victims and offenders are, therefore, most likely to resemble each other and

in a significant number of cases will be known to each other (Hough and Mayhew, 1982; Gottfredson, 1984). For example, in the 1988 survey, victims knew their assailants in about half of the cases (Mayhew et al, 1989). Whilst it is acknowledged that the surveys undercount domestic violence and sexual offences, the risk of violence for women is generally presented by the Home Office as slight. And, in line with the apparent maleness of the phenomenon and life-style characteristics of the victims, violence is seen as a feature of public space, occurring mostly in pubs, clubs and other places of entertainment. According to Gottfredson, 'those who stay in and around the home have lower likelihoods (of personal victimisation) than those working outside the home' (1984:18).

Left Realists

On the overall focus of the level of violence, left realists have been critical of the incidence figures produced by the national crime surveys. They consider crime to be extremely geographically and socially focused in certain areas and amongst particular groups of people. Poor areas of the city are seen to be more likely to be victimised than rich areas (Kinsey et al, 1986). Thus, it is argued that to add crime rates for a suburban area to that of an inner city area - as the British Crime Surveys have done - produces 'blancmange figures of little use to anyone' (Young, 1992a:50). Surveys of local areas conducted by left realists have, therefore, yielded much higher incidence figures of interpersonal violence for women and the elderly, as well as

for men. Indeed the first Islington Crime Survey uncovered higher assault rates for women than men: in the year of study there were 213 incidents for women, 152 for men per 1,000 households (Jones et al, 1986).

The spectrum of violence experienced by women, particularly young women, is seen by left realists to be much wider than that for men, ranging from harassment to more serious assault. Violence against men is more likely to be experienced at the more serious end of the spectrum. Indeed, women encounter harassment on a level that is unknown to most men, as Young has pointed out:

> The equivalent of sexual harassment for men would be if every time they walked out of doors they were met with catcalls asking if they would like a fight. And the spectrum which women experience is all the more troublesome in that each of the minor incivilities could escalate to more serious violence. Sexual harassment could be a prelude to attempted rape; domestic verbal quarrels could trigger off domestic violence... (1992a: 50).

On the invisibility of violence, it has been stressed by left realists that much violence against women is, in fact, concealed. It does not appear in agency statistics and is less likely to be picked up using the conventional survey method. This is believed to be particulary true for domestic violence and sexual offences (Young, 1988a; Crawford et al, 1990; Young, 1992a).

Finally, from a left realist perspective, people are seen as having a differential vulnerability to crime and, therefore, to talk of a general risk, the experiences of the 'average' person, assumes that everyone is equal in their capacity to resist the

impact of such experiences. For left realists there is no such thing as an equal victim: people are more or less vulnerable, depending on their place in society: those who are poor with little political power will suffer the most from crime (Lea and Young, 1984; Kinsey et al, 1986, Young,1992a). And the relatively powerless situation of women - economically, socially and physically - is seen to make them more unequal victims than men (Young, 1988a).

The Family Violence Approach

The work of Straus et al in the United States is solely concerned with emphasising the problem of violence in the family. In the introduction to Family Violence, Richard Gelles writes:

> Twenty years ago, when people were concerned about violence they feared violence in the streets at the hands of a stranger. Today we are aware of the extent, impact and consequences of private violence. (1987: 13)

Violence between husbands and wives is seen as part of a pattern of violence occurring amongst all familial members. The family violence approach is an attempt to look at the whole picture of family violence (see Gelles and Cornell, 1985).

The family violence researchers have conducted two national surveys in the States in 1975 and 1985 respectively which have not only uncovered high levels of domestic violence but, in terms of focusing, have resulted in the highly controversial finding that men are as much at risk of violence from their wives, as

women are from their husbands (Straus, 1980; Straus and Gelles, 1988). This is seen to contrast to women's behaviour outside of the family where it is said they are much less likely to use violence (Straus and Gelles, 1988). Thus, on the basis of the 1975 survey, Steinmetz (1977-8) concluded that there was a 'battered husband syndrome' which had not previously been acknowledged and Straus commented,

> ...violence between husband and wife is far from a one way street. The old cartoons of the wife chasing the husband with a rolling pin or throwing pots and pans are closer to reality than most (and especially those with feminist sympathies) realize. (1977-8: 488).

Radical Feminists

Radical feminist research has centred on violence against women. The studies conducted by radical feminists in this country, like those of left realists, have highlighted the myriad forms of violence experienced by women and been used to challenge the figures produced by the British Crime Surveys conducted by the Home Office. In the Violence Against Women - Women Speak Out Survey carried out in the London Borough of Wandsworth by feminist researchers, 44 per cent of women, for example, reported being the target of a violent attack within the past year. This, together with other findings uncovered by the research, was said by its co-ordinator, Radford, to, 'cast real doubt on the figures cited in the British Crime Survey which reported a very low rate of offences against women' (1987: 35).

On the focusing of violence, feminists have emphasized the gender dimensions of violence against women; that is, it is made clear that violence is largely perpetrated <u>by men on women</u>. Whilst there has recently been an acknowledgement of women's violence against other women, particularly in the context of lesbian relationships (Lobel, 1986; Kelly, 1991a; Mann, 1993)[3], female on male violence is presented as rare and when it does occur is seen as mainly in self-defence (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Breines and Gordon, 1983; Kurz, 1993). The impact of violence against women in terms of psychological trauma, avoidance behaviours, injuries experienced and the difficulties inherent in their structural positions is, in addition, stressed by feminists.

With respect to the relationship to the perpetrator and locality of the violence, women are generally seen to be more likely to be assaulted by men who are known to them in their homes than by strangers in a public space:

> By far, most violence and threat arises from those who are familial and familiar. Rather than the street constituting the greatest threat to personal security, violence often happens in places such as the home or worksite. (Stanko, 1992: 3).

This position has led radical feminists to be critical of official crime prevention literature which tends to be fixated on the problem of 'stranger-danger' (<u>Ibid</u>: 3). Violence from known men, however, is seen as less likely to be reported to an

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[3] See Appendix VI.

interviewer due to its intrinsically personal nature (Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Radford and Laffy, 1984). Indeed when Hanmer and Saunders (1984) found that 78 per cent of violence against women was by unknown men and more than half of violent incidents occurred in public space, they questioned the validity of their own results. They noted that when women were asked about violence they had witnessed in the neighbourhood, 69 per cent was between people known to each other with a higher proportion occurring in the home. And when the pilot for the Wandsworth survey, mentioned above, failed to uncover any violence on women by their husbands, brothers and boyfriends, Radford and Laffy commented, 'our conclusion is not that this has not occurred, as that contradicts what we know of domestic violence from Women's Aid but rather ours was not the right type of survey to explore such very personal and possibly continuing experiences' (1984: 113). On the location of the violence in terms of public and private space, Hanmer and Saunders further make the point that incidents in public space may not necessarily be from strangers:

> Arguments and assaults between acquaintances, friends or married couples may begin and/or end outside the home or in any public location...specific violent events are not sealed off into private versus public domains. (1984: 45).

Other Perspectives: Vox Populi

In the pilot study to this section of the North London Domestic Violence Survey 40 women and 10 men who said they had not experienced violence were asked about their opinions on the focusing of violence in the home and public space. Whilst the

numbers asked are too small to allow their responses to be generalised to the population as a whole, they do provide a useful insight into the attitudes of some members of the general public to violence. Violence in the home between adults was largely perceived to involve husbands and wives or boyfriends and girlfriends who are living together, rather than other family members, close friends or acquaintances. Women were regarded as most likely to be the victims of violence in the home although 12 women and four men considered men to be as much at risk as women and one man cited the popular cartoon image, invoked also by Straus in the above quotation, of a wife hitting her husband with a rolling pin. When a woman was violent her target was seen by the majority interviewed to be a man in a domestic situation. In public space men were believed - in line with the Home Office's position - to be at greatest risk from a man and usually a known man with the most common scenario being described as a 'pub-brawl'. Women were regarded to be in greatest danger from an unknown man and the violence was largely seen to be sexually motivated.

10.2 PROPOSITIONS TO BE TESTED

The discussion of the various theoretical and other positions on the focus of violence has generated a series of propositions which clearly require further investigation. These are detailed below. The intention here is to use the data produced by this stage of the project in order to either refute or substantiate the propositions. The findings will be discussed in the order of the propositions presented.

PROPOSITIONS

A. OVERALL LEVEL OF VIOLENCE

1. The risk of violent victimisation is low in comparison to property offences - New Administrative Criminology

B. GENDER AND AGE RELATION OF OVERALL VIOLENCE

Gender

1. Men are the predominant victims of violence - New Administrative Criminology

2. Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism and Radical Feminism

Age

3. Young men are the predominant victims of violence - New Administrative Criminology

4. Young women are more at risk of violence than older women - Left Realism

C. LOCALITY OF THE VIOLENCE

1. Most violence occurs in public space - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most violence occurs in pubs, clubs and other places of entertainment - New Administrative Criminology

D. THE GENDERED DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOCALITY OF VIOLENCE

1. Most violence against men occurs in public space - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most violence against women occurs in the private sphere - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism, Radical Feminism

3. Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence in public space - All

4. Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence in the private sphere - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism and Radical Feminism

E. THE INTER- AND INTRA-GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF VIOLENCE

1. Most male violence is against men - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most female violence is against men - Family Violence Researchers, Other Perspectives

F. THE INTER- AND INTRA-GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF VIOLENCE BY LOCALITY

1. Most male violence in public space is against men - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most male violence against women is in the private sphere - Radical Feminism

3. Most female violence against men is in the private sphere - Family Violence Researchers

G. THE OVERALL SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE

1. The majority of violence is minor - New Administrative Criminology

H. THE SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE BY GENDER

1. Violence against men is likely to be more severe - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism

2. Violence is likely to have a greater impact on women - Left Realism, Radical Feminism

I. THE SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE BY LOCALITY

Overall

1. Violence is more severe in public space - New Administrative Criminology

Gender

2. Violence is more severe against men in public space - New Administrative Criminology

3. Violence is more severe against women in the private sphere - Radical Feminism

J. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VICTIM AND THE PERPETRATOR

Overall

1. Most violence is committed by someone who is known to the victim - New Administrative Criminology, Radical Feminism

Gender and Locality

2. Violence against women in public space is more likely to be from a unknown man - Other Perspectives

3. Violence against women in public space is likely to be from a known man - Radical Feminism

K. VIOLENCE BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES/ BOYFRIENDS AND GIRLFRIENDS

1. Most violence in the private sphere is between husbands and wives/ boyfriends and girlfriends - Other Perspectives

2. Men are as likely to experience violence from wives/ girlfriends as women are from husbands/ boyfriends - Family Violence Researchers

3. Women are more likely to experience violence from their husbands/ boyfriends than men are from their wives/ girlfriends - Radical Feminism

4. Women use violence against their husbands/ boyfriends in self- defence and are more likely to be injured and experience a greater degree of impact - Radical Feminism

L. FURTHER DETAILS ON OTHER FORMS OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

1. Women experience a wide spectrum of violence against them - Left Realism, Radical Feminism

10.3 FINDINGS

A. OVERALL LEVEL OF VIOLENCE

1. The risk of violent victimisation is low in comparison to property crimes - New Administrative Criminology

The results already presented in this thesis show violence against women from their husbands and boyfriends to be a relatively common occurrence. This section reveals this to be true for violence overall. As Table 1 demonstrates nearly 1/5 of the total sample - comprising of both men and women - had experienced a threat or some form of physical violence against them in the last 12 months with equal proportions having occurred in the home or in a public place. Three women and three men, in addition, had incidents against them in both the private and public spheres. This study has, therefore, refuted the finding of the British Crime Surveys conducted by the Home Office which shows the risk of violent victimisation to be low in comparison to property offences. It is likely that the use of highly trained, sensitive interviewers together with the general emphasis placed on violence in the survey has encouraged the reporting not only of domestic but of non-domestic violence.

TABLE 1: Overall Level of Violence* in the Last 12 Months by Location, % of total sample - prevalence figures

LOCATION:	n	%
Home	111	9.7
Public Place	109	9.5
All Places	214	18.7

n= 1142 weighted data
* Definition = Threats of or any form of physical violence

B. GENDER AND AGE RELATION OF OVERALL VIOLENCE

Gender

1. Men are the predominant victims of violence - New Administrative Criminology

2. Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence - Home Office, Left Realism, Radical Feminism

Victims

Tables 2 and 3 show the women and men in this survey to have fairly equal risks of violence against them. The supposition of the new administrative criminologists that it is men who are the predominant victims of violence is obviously based on an underestimation of violence in the home. Indeed, given that the method used for this stage of the project -face -to -face interviews as opposed to supplementary questionnaires - will undercount the level of domestic violence against women, women's risk of victimisation in the home will be even greater than that presented here (see Chapter Seven).

TABLE 2: Overall Focus of Violence* in the Last 12 Months by Gender, % of total sample - prevalence figures

Victim:	Home		Public		All Places	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women	67	11.7	39	6.8	103	18.0
Men	44	7.7	70	12.3	111	19.4
All People	111	9.7	109	9.5	214	18.7

n= 1142 weighted data

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 3: Overall Focus of Violence* in the Last 12 Months by Gender and Locality, % of those experiencing

Victim:	Home		Public		All Places	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women	67	60.4	39	35.8	103	48.1
Men	44	39.6	70	64.2	111	51.9
All People	111	100	109	100	214	100

n= 214

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

\+ All Places does not equal the sum of Home and Public because some people were victimized in both places

Perpetrators

As previously stated, respondents were asked further details about the last incident of violence that they had experienced. With respect to the perpetrator of the violence, the general assumption of radical feminist work, where it is made particularly explicit, and that of new administrative criminology and left realism, is that the perpetrator is most likely to be a man. The findings for the last incident, presented in Table 4, confirm this proposition: in 85 per cent of cases the assailant was found to be a man.

TABLE 4: The Perpetrator of the Violence* by Gender and Locality, % of those experiencing

Perpetrator:	Home %	Public %	All %
Male	85.2	84.7	85.0
Female	14.8	15.3	15.0

n= 206

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

Age

3. Young men are the predominant victims of violence - New Administrative Criminology

4. Young women are more at risk of violence than older women - Left Realism

Men

The findings detailed in Tables 2 and 3 have refuted the new administrative criminologist's position with respect to the usual gender of the victim. However, as Table 5 demonstrates, when men are looked at as a category by themselves, it is younger men - those aged 16 to 24 years - who are most likely to be victimized both in the home and in a public place. Further, it is of interest to note that, within this age group, 90 per cent of those who had experienced violence in a public place from an unknown man, estimated his age to be under 25 years. New administrative criminology is, therefore, correct when the focus is specifically on young men's experiences: violence on young men is largely perpetrated by other young men. The inter- and intra- gender distribution of violence is more generally discussed under Section 'E'.

TABLE 5: Violence* Against Men by Age and Locality, % of total sample

Age:	Home %	Public %
16-24	19	27
25-34	6	11
35-44	5	13
45+	4	9

n= 571

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

Women

Table 6 displays the age profile for women. In the home the risk for women decreases significantly after the age of 45 years which must, at least in part, relate to the increased number in this age group who live alone through being divorced, separated or widowed and whose children have left home. In public space women of all ages had similar levels of victimization against them. Thus, with respect to overall levels of violence, the left realist position which presents younger women as having the highest risk rates is not substantiated. This is not the case, however, for sexual harassment and sexual assaults from male strangers for, as the section on other forms of male violence against women ('L') shows, women in the younger age groups are more at risk of these forms of violence.

TABLE 6: Violence* Against Women by Age and Locality, % of total sample

Age:	Home %	Public %
16-24	13	7
25-34	15	8
35-44	17	7
45 +	7	9

n= 571

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

The Focusing of Violence by Social Group

The data was additionally broken-down to investigate differences in levels of victimisation by class and ethnicity. For class no statistically significant difference emerged between professional, lower middle class and working class women and men in either the private or public spheres. This was also true in the private sphere for the various ethnic groups surveyed. In public space differences did, however, emerge: African-Caribbean women had considerably higher risk rates in comparison to other groups of women, and men of Irish origin were found to be more likely to be victimised in a public place than other men.

TABLE 7: Violence* in Public Space by Gender and Ethnicity, % of total sample

Ethnicity:	Women %	Men %
English/ Scottish/ Welsh	7	13
Irish	6	21
African-Caribbean	13	13
Other	6	7

n= 1142 weighted data

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

C. LOCALITY OF THE VIOLENCE

1. Most violence occurs in public space - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most violence occurs in pubs, clubs and other places of entertainment - New Administrative Criminology

As seen in Table 1, this survey found violence to be equally distributed between the private and public spheres. Again the position held by the new administrative criminologists is based on an underestimation of violence against women, a large proportion of which is domestic. When focusing specifically on violence in public places, the most common location for both women and men was found to be the street. Thus neither of the above propositions is supported.

TABLE 8: Location of the Violence* in Public Space by Gender, % of those experiencing

Location:	Women %	Men %	All People %
Street	44	47	46
Pub/ restaurant	13	11	12
Shop	8	10	9
Housing estate	21	16	17
Work	3	-	1
Other	11	16	15
ALL	100	100	100

n= 109

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

D. THE GENDERED DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOCALITY OF VIOLENCE

1. Most violence against men occurs in public space - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most violence against women occurs in the private sphere - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism, Radical Feminism

3. Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence in public space - All

4. Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence in the private sphere - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism, Radical Feminism

This study confirms that most violence against women is private, most violence against men is public. However, as is apparent from Tables 2 and 3, in neither instance is the focus overwhelming. Table 3 shows 36 per cent of violence against women was in a public place, while 40 per cent of violence against men occurred in the home. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the ratio of violence against women in the home compared to the public sphere is nearly equal to the ratio of violence against men in the public sphere compared to the home. Propositions 3 and 4 are additionally confirmed; as demonstrated in Table 4, men are the predominant perpetrators of violence in the domestic sphere and to an identical level (85%) in public.

E. THE INTER- AND INTRA- GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF VIOLENCE

1. Most male violence is against men - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most female violence is against men - Family Violence Researchers, Other Perspectives

Table 9 shows that male violence is directed more against women than men although not by a great extent. Twice as much female violence is, however, against men than women albeit on a much smaller scale. The first proposition is, therefore, refuted; the second is substantiated.

TABLE 9: The Inter- and Intra-Gender Distribution of Violence*

Relationship:	Home %	Public %	All Places %
Male to male	26	56	40
Male to female	59	29	45
Female to male	13	7	10
Female to female	2	8	5
ALL	100	100	100

n= 206

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

F. THE INTER- AND INTRA-GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF VIOLENCE BY LOCALITY

1. Most male violence in public space is against men - New Administrative Criminology

2. Most male violence against women is in the private sphere - Radical Feminism

3. Most female violence against men is in the private sphere - Family Violence Researchers

It is apparent from the results presented in Table 9 that most male violence in the public sphere is against men although the ratio of just under 2:1 male to female victims is not perhaps as

high as might have been thought. The new administrative criminologists position is, therefore, supported. Indeed it is of interest to mention that there is a symmetry here, with male violence in the private sphere being just under 2:1 female to male victims, the mirror image of the public sphere. The amount of male violence against males in the private sphere is likewise not insignificant. Female violence - which is much less common - does not have such a symmetry between the two spheres. An equal proportion of female violence in the public sphere is against men and women. In the private sphere, however, female violence is directed at men (6.5:1), thus the last position is validated.

G. OVERALL SEVERITY OF THE VIOLENCE

1. The majority of violence is minor - New Administrative Criminology

Severity is generally assessed in the literature by considering the type of violent behaviours involved, injuries inflicted and the degree of impact on the victim. Table 10 demonstrates that respondents encountered a wide range of violent behaviours against them, the most common being punched and slapped; 15 per cent of cases involved a weapon and 34 per cent resulted in some form of injury. Nearly a third of those experiencing a threat of or any form of violence had experienced more than one incident. On the impact of the violence, Table 11 shows a significant number sought medical treatment and experienced various emotional and psychological effects after the last incident. In the light of these findings, violence cannot

therefore be considered to be minor.

TABLE 10: Overall Nature of the Violence*, % of those experiencing

	All People %
VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR	
Grabbed/shaken	44
Punched/slapped	44
Kicked	12
Head butted	1
Hit with a weapon/ object	7
Attempted strangulation	4
Threat only	14
INJURED	36
Bruised	28
Black eye	6
Scratched	8
Cuts	9
Bones broken	3
WEAPON INVOLVED	16
Bottle/ glass	3
Stick/ club/ blunt object	2
Knife/ scissors	10
Firearm	-
MULTIPLE VICTIMIZATION	
More than one incident	48

n= 214

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 11: Overall Impact of Violence*, % of those experiencing

IMPACT	All People %
See a doctor	14
Need to stay overnight in hospital	2
Have to take time off work	10
Have difficulty sleeping	28
Feel worried, anxious or nervous	46
Feel depressed or lose self confidence	37

n= 214

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

H. THE SEVERITY OF THE VIOLENCE BY GENDER

1. Violence against men is likely to be more severe - New Administrative Criminology, Left Realism

2. Violence has a greater impact on women - Left Realism, Radical Feminism

Tables 12 and 13 indicate that overall women and men experience a similar range of violence against them and similar injuries. However, in the home women were much more likely to experience more than one incident than men. Focusing on the impact, whilst men's experiences were not insignificant, violence was found generally to have a greater effect on women (see Tables 14 and 15). For example, four per cent of women had stayed overnight in hospital - which underscores the seriousness of the injuries inflicted - in comparison to no men, and 49 per cent reported feeling depressed or losing self confidence in comparison to 25 per cent of men. The degree of impact experienced by women is,

of course, hardly surprising given the inter-gendered nature of violence against women. Thus, the results detailed here fail to support the first proposition, but substantiate the second.

TABLE 12: Nature of the Violence* Against Women by Locality, % of those experiencing

	Home %	Public %	All Places %
VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR			
Grabbed/ shaken	43	36	41
Punched/ slapped	46	39	43
Kicked	12	8	10
Head butted	2	-	1
Hit with a weapon / object	10	5	8
Attempted strangulation	5	3	4
Threat only	15	13	14
INJURED	40	31	37
Bruised	30	26	28
Black eye	10	-	7
Scratched	8	8	8
Cuts	6	5	6
Bones broken	6	3	5
WEAPON INVOLVED	10	15	12
Bottle/ glass	1	3	2
Stick/ club/ blunt object	-	-	-
Knife/ scissors	8	10	9
Firearm	-	-	-
MULTIPLE VICTIMIZATION			
More than one incident	70	31	56

n= 109

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 13: Nature of the Violence* Against Men by Locality, % of those experiencing

	Home %	Public %	All Places %
VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR			
Grabbed/ shaken	52	41	46
Punched/ slapped	34	50	44
Kicked	7	17	13
Head butted	2	-	1
Hit with a weapon / object	7	4	6
Attempted strangulation	-	4	3
Threat only	18	11	14
INJURED	43	30	35
Bruised	27	27	27
Black eye	-	7	4
Scratched	11	4	7
Cuts	9	13	11
Bones broken	2	-	1
WEAPON INVOLVED	9	27	20
Bottle/ glass	-	6	4
Stick/ club/ blunt object	2	4	3
Knife/ scissors	9	13	11
Firearm	-	-	-
MULTIPLE VICTIMIZATION			
More than one incident	45	36	40

n= 111

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 14: Impact of the Violence* Against Women by Locality, % of those experiencing

IMPACT	Home %	Public %	All Places %
See a doctor	18	10	15
Need to stay overnight in hospital	3	5	4
Have to take time of work	16	8	13
Have difficulty sleeping	46	23	38
Feel worried, anxious or nervous	58	51	56
Feel depressed or lose self-confidence	60	31	49

n = 103

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 15: Impact of Violence* Against Men by Locality, % of those experiencing

IMPACT	Home %	Public %	All Places %
See a doctor	16	10	12
Need to stay overnight in hospital	-	-	-
Have to take time off work	11	4	7
Have difficulty sleeping	27	13	18
Feel worried/ anxious or nervous	55	23	35
Feel depressed or lose self-confidence	46	11	25

n= 111

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

I. THE SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE BY LOCALITY

Overall

1. Violence is more severe in public space - New Administrative Criminology

Gender

2. Violence is more severe against men in public space - New Administrative Criminology

3. Violence is more severe against women in the private sphere - Radical Feminism

Overall

With respect to the range of violent behaviours used, Table 16 indicates that there was little difference between the home and public space. In the home, however, the risk of injury was slightly greater and respondents were more likely to experience more than one incident. In public space there was a higher risk of the incident involving a weapon. As far as the impact of the violence was concerned, as Table 17 shows, the impact was significantly greater in the home. When looking at the psychological effects of the violence in particular, this is hardly surprising given that the home is where one is supposed to feel safe and secure ('a haven in a heartless world'). Violence in the home is, in addition, more likely to be carried out by a known person and, as indicated by the incidence data, may be part of an ongoing experience.

TABLE 16: Severity of Violence* by Locality, % of those experiencing

	Home %	Public %
VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR		
Grabbed/ shaken	48	39
Punched/ slapped	40	45
Kicked	10	13
Head butted	2	-
Hit with a weapon/ object	9	5
Attempted strangulation	3	4
Threat only	17	12
INJURED	42	31
Bruised	29	27
Black eye	5	4
Scratched	10	6
Cuts	8	9
Bones broken	4	2
WEAPON INVOLVED	10	21
Bottle/ glass	1	5
Stick/ club/ blunt object	1	2
Knife/ scissors	9	12
Firearm	-	-
MULTIPLE VICTIMIZATION		
More than one incident	58	34

n= 214

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 17: Impact of the Violence* by Locality, % of those experiencing

IMPACT	Home %	Public %
See a doctor	17	10
Need to stay overnight in hospital	2	3
Have to take time off work	14	6
Have difficulty in sleeping	37	18
Feel worried, anxious or nervous	57	37
Feel depressed or lose self-confidence	53	21

n= 214

* Threats of or use of physical violence

Gender

Tables 12 and 13 indicate that there is little difference in the nature of the violence experienced by men and women either overall or in the public and private space.

J. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VICTIM AND THE PERPETRATOR

Overall

1. Most violence is committed by someone who is known to the victim - New Administrative Criminology, Radical Feminism

Gender and Locality

2. Violence against women in public space is more likely to be from an unknown man - Other Perspectives

3. Violence against women in public space is likely to be from a known man - Radical Feminism

Overall

The new administrative criminologists and radical feminists have suggested that the surveys they have conducted undercount non-stranger violence due to the methods used. The assumption generally made in their writing is that violence from known people is much greater than that revealed. The findings presented here in Table 18, together with those specifically on violence against women from their husbands and boyfriends presented in this thesis, support the notion that violence is usually perpetrated by a known person. This is not to say, however, that violence from a stranger is insignificant, Tables 19 and 20 show that it accounts for 32 per cent of violence against men and 20 per cent of violence against women. The figure uncovered for women is even more notable given the extraordinary avoidance behaviours adopted by women to avoid such

victimisation (see, for example, Painter, 1988; Painter et al, 1990b). It is clearly important in highlighting the reality of domestic violence that women's experience of violence from unknown men is not forgotten.

TABLE 18: Overall Violence* by Relationship and Gender, % of those experiencing

PERPETRATOR	Women %	Men %	All People %
Unknown male	15	32	24
Unknown female	5	-	3
Current partner	23	7	15
Ex-partner	10	6	8
Other male family member	7	9	8
Other female family member	2	1	2
Male friend	11	9	10
Female friend	-	1	1
Male acquaintance	22	23	23
Female acquaintance	2	3	3
Not specified	2	7	4
ALL	99	98	101

n= 214

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 19: Violence* Against Women: Relationship to the Perpetrator by Locality, % of those experiencing

PERPETRATOR	Home %	Public %	All Places %
Unknown male	-	38	15
Unknown female	-	12	5
Current partner	34	5	23
Ex-partner	13	7	10
Other male family member	12	-	7
Other female family member	3	-	2
Male friend	18	-	11
Female friend	-	-	-
Male acquaintance	18	29	22
Female acquaintance	-	5	2
Not specified	2	4	2
ALL	100	100	99

n= 103

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

TABLE 20: Violence* Against Men: Relationship to the Perpetrator by Locality, % of those experiencing

PERPETRATOR	Home %	Public %	All Places %
Unknown male	2	51	32
Unknown female	-	-	-
Current partner	15	1	7
Ex-partner	9	4	6
Other male family member	24	-	9
Other female family member	3	-	1
Male friend	20	1	9
Female friend	-	1	1
Male acquaintance	17	27	23
Female acquaintance	2	4	3
Not specified	7	9	7
ALL	99	98	98

n= 111

* Threats of or any form of violence

Gender and Locality

Women were found to be at greatest risk in the home from first their current partner (34%), secondly a male friend (18%) or male acquaintance (18%), and thirdly an ex-partner (13%). In public, the assailant was most likely to be an unknown male (38%), a male acquaintance (29%) or an unknown female (12%). For men, the perpetrator in the home was most likely to be another male family member (24%), secondly a male friend (20%), thirdly a male acquaintance (17%), and fourthly a current partner (15%). The

'other male family member' most usually cited by men was a brother. In public, men were most likely to be victimized by an unknown male (51%) and secondly by a male acquaintance (27%).

If we make the sharp contrast between non-stranger and stranger violence in public we find that both women and men have about a 50 per cent chance of the attacker being a stranger. For men this stranger is invariably male and for women there is a three to one chance of the assailant being male. These findings refute the notion that violence against women in public space is more likely to be from an unknown man - he is just as likely to be known as unknown. And, of course, it refutes the opposite assertion often occurring in the radical feminist literature.

K. VIOLENCE BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES/ BOYFRIENDS AND GIRLFRIENDS

Overall

1. Most violence in the private sphere is between husbands and wives/ boyfriends and girlfriends - Other Perspectives

The results presented in Table 21 support the above proposition:- most violence in the home was found to be perpetrated by a current partner. However, it is important to point-out that violence in the home from non-family members is not insubstantial. The second most common assailant in the home was a male friend (19%), the third a male acquaintance (18%).

TABLE 21: Overall Violence* in the Home by Relationship, % of those experiencing

PERPETRATOR	All People %
Unknown male	1
Unknown female	-
Current partner	25
Ex-partner	12
Other male family member	17
Other female family member	3
Male friend	19
Female friend	-
Male acquaintance	18
Female acquaintance	1
Not specified	4
ALL	100

n= 111

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

Gender

2. Men are as likely to experience violence from wives/ girlfriends as women are from husbands/ boyfriends - Family Violence Researchers

3. Women are more likely to experience violence from their husbands/ boyfriends than men from their wives/ girlfriends - Radical Feminism

4. Women use violence against their husbands/ boyfriends in self-defence and are more likely to be injured and experience a greater degree of impact - Radical Feminism

The findings detailed in Tables 19 and 20 confirm the results

presented in Chapter Seven. Overall the risk to women from their current partners in the home was over three times greater than that for men. And it is likely to be more than this as this section will underestimate domestic violence against women due to the method used. Thus this data clearly contradicts the findings of Straus et al and undermines Steinmetz's notion of the 'battered husband syndrome'. Proposition 2 is, therefore, dismissed and proposition 3 confirmed.

As is evident from Tables 22 and 23, this survey showed that women were also more likely to experience a wide range of violent behaviours against them, be injured and have a weapon used against them by their partners or ex-partners than was the case for men. In fact no man was found to have had a weapon used against him. Women were also more likely to experience multiple incidents and the impact on them was, not surprisingly, worse. Qualitative work shows further that women who experience violence from their partners often use violence in self-defence. Thus, as occurred above, the radical feminist position on this form of violence is found to be valid. Furthermore, as left realists in particular, have stressed in their work, there is no such thing as an equal victim; people have a differential vulnerability to crime. Thus violence on women because of their structural position is likely to be worse and have a greater effect, than that against men.

TABLE 22: Nature of the Violence from Partners and Ex-Partners, % of those experiencing

VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR	Women n	Women %	Men n
Grabbed/ shaken	22	65	4
Punched/ slapped	21	62	1
Kicked	4	12	-
Head butted	1	3	1
Hit with a weapon/ object	4	12	-
Attempted strangulation	2	6	-
INJURED	29	85	7
Bruised	14	41	5
Black eye	5	15	-
Scratched	6	18	1
Cuts	6	18	2
Bones broken	3	9	-
WEAPON INVOLVED	6	18	-
Bottle/ glass	1	3	-
Stick/ club/ blunt object	2	6	-
Knife/ scissors	3	9	-
Firearm	-	-	-
	n= 34		n= 14

NB Figures uncovered for men are too small to express as percentages

TABLE 23: Impact of the Violence* from Partners and Ex-Partners, % of those experiencing

IMPACT:	Women n	%	Men n
See a doctor	11	32	-
Need to stay overnight in hospital	3	9	-
Have to take time off work	9	27	-
Have difficulty in sleeping	23	68	1
Feel worried, anxious or nervous	25	74	3
Feel depressed or lose self-confidence	25	74	7
	n= 34		n= 14

* Threats of or any form of physical violence

NB The figures uncovered for men are too small to express as percentages

L. FURTHER DETAILS ON MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

1. Women experience a wide spectrum of violence against them from men - Left Realism, Radical Feminism

a) SEXUAL VIOLENCE FROM MALE STRANGERS

As previously stated, women were asked further questions of their experiences of sexual harassment, indecent exposure and sexual assaults in public space from male strangers. Sexual harassment was defined as being kerb-crawled, followed, approached or spoken to and shouted after in a way that was perceived by the respondent to be sexually motivated. Sexual assault was defined as 'being touched in a way that was sexual

when you did not want this to happen.' A qualitative component was additionally included in this section to ascertain the impact of such incidents.

Overall

Table 24 shows that sexual harassment, indecent exposure and sexual assaults are common even in such a relatively short space of time as a year.

TABLE 24: Other Forms of Male Stranger Violence Against Women, % total sample - prevalence figures

VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR	Women %
Sexual harassment	42
Indecent Exposure	7
Sexual Assault	7

n= 571

Furthermore, 26 per cent of women had been the victims of indecent exposure and 16 per cent sexually assaulted at some time in their lives.

Age

Whilst women of all age groups had experienced sexual harassment, indecent exposure and sexual assault in the last 12 months, some differences did emerge. As is apparent from Table 25, sexual harassment and sexual assaults were particular problems for those in the younger age groups, that is under 35

years. Thus, the left realist assumption, referred to earlier, that it is younger women who are most at risk is true for these particular forms of violent behaviour. Indecent exposure, however, was more likely to occur to those over the age of 35 years.

TABLE 25: Other Forms of Stranger Violence Against Women by Age, % of total sample

VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR	16-24	25-34	35+
Sexual harassment	60	49	35
Indecent exposure	3	6	9
Sexual assault	9	8	5

n= 571

The Impact of Sexual Violence from Unknown Men

The qualitative data revealed women to experience a variety of emotions and effects ranging from anger to fear and feelings of increased vulnerability. Perhaps the most noticeable is with respect to changes in patterns of behaviour: the experience of violence in public space resulted in many women adopting avoidance tactics such as not going out, never going out alone, avoiding certain areas or public transport and altering styles of dress. Violence against women by men is clearly a powerful mechanism for controlling women's lives. The effect of such experiences was found to be long-lasting and each new incident will be likely to compound the effects of an earlier one. Violence in public space leads women to retreat in to the home

where - as it has been consistently shown throughout this research - they are also liable to be assaulted. Here are just some of the comments made by women on the impact that sexual harassment, indecent exposure and sexual assaults have had on them:

Sexual Harassment

'The daily experience of sexual harassment makes me feel threatened and vulnerable.'

'I felt annoyed...I felt my privacy had been invaded.'

'I feel angry. Sometimes it makes me feel that its my fault for wearing a mini-skirt or something. I'm careful about what I wear.'

'I felt disgusted, it offends all of one's rights, it was very upsetting and makes me feel afraid.'

'Their words made me feel disgusted. I wanted to get home. I can't bear it. I try not to go out on my own, particularly at night.'

'It makes me furious, I hate it. I often want to shout back, tell them what I think of them, but I wouldn't want to make the situation worse.'

'I don't think men realise how frightening it can be for a woman living in this society, especially in London. I get nervous just passing by a group of men in the street not so much of physical abuse, but of mental abuse, jeering etc. It all leads to a general feeling of insecurity.'

Indecent Exposure

'It made me careful about where I walked after the incident, I was shaken up, didn't go out.'

'It makes me frightened of any man I see after dark. Its made me very wary.'

'Since then I never travel alone in a train carriage. I'll wait for the next train if there is no occupied compartment.'

'I was scared and sick, particularly because I was alone, but this turned to anger.'

'It made me frightened of attack. I just grabbed my daughter and ran.'

Sexual Assault

'Seven years ago I experienced an attempted rape. He restrained by hands and touched my genitals. I screamed for help but no one responded. I began to scream and shout at him, he then ran off. I don't go out anymore.'

'I was hysterical...It was a horrible experience...I never go out on my own now.'

b) SEXUAL VIOLENCE FROM MEN WOMEN HAVE DATED AND FROM MALE FAMILY MEMBERS

Women were also asked in Stage 2 of the North London Domestic Violence Survey questions about their experiences of sexual assault and rape on 'dates' with men whom they had been out with on not more than five occasions and of sexual assaults from family members (excluding those from husbands and boyfriends). Unlike those discussed above, these are offences which usually take place in private.

<u>Sexual Assaults and Rape on 'Dates'</u>

Twenty five per cent of women reported 'being touched sexually in a way that they did not want to be' on such dates, with just over half of these saying that it occurred on a first date. Nine per cent of women reported being raped on such a date: 35 per

cent of these said that it happened on the first date. 32 per cent of those raped were threatened with violence and five per cent had physical violence inflicted upon them.[4] These experiences were found to have a considerable impact on women:

> 'It has led to a great fear of men and total lack of confidence.'
>
> 'After a drunken evening with my boy 'friend' - allowed him to stay on the floor of my college rooms. He climbed into bed with me and I wasn't really aware until it was too late what was going on. Afterwards I felt distressed, used, humiliated and ashamed and angry with him and myself for not being more forceful.'
>
> 'It made me feel dirty, used. I am much more wary now. I am no longer the carefree, happy-go-lucky person that I was.'

Sexual Violence From Male Family Members

Ten per cent of women had experienced sexual assaults from male family members at sometime in their lives, that is as children and adults. With respect to this, the main offenders were father (22%), step-father (20%), uncle (15%) and brother (6%). Given that few of the women interviewed will have had step-fathers, the risk of sexual assault from step-fathers is clearly considerable. Below are accounts of what happened to three women:

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[4] None of the incidents of date rape or sexual assault was reported to the police. The main reasons for non-reporting were 'embarrassment', 'fear of not being believed' and 'that it would not be treated seriously given that I knew the man.'

'My step-father raped me (as a child). He'd previously been in prison for rape. It was reported to the police. The police would arrive he'd leave, he'd watch the police leave and come back. I don't trust men as a result and it has affected my relationships with men. Even my own children, I don't leave them alone with men in my family. I'm probably doing them some damage, but it is the only way I can protect them.'

'My dad was killed and I was brought up by his brother who raped me and interfered with me at the age of 9. It has affected me a lot because I feel I can't trust anyone even when it comes to sex I feel dirty.'

'I lived with my boyfriend's mum and dad. His dad assaulted me. If I was sitting on the couch he would pretend to be joking or reaching for something but actually 'feeling me up'. This went on for quite a while with him trying to touch different parts of me. Eventually he tried to get into bed with me. I told my boyfriend and we moved out. I shy away from older men now even my dad when he approaches. I have had difficulties with my boyfriend because of it. I hate his father. My boyfriend's dad has now been convicted for similar offences by the police. He was a cab driver and had done similar things. He eventually got off on appeal. He lost his cab licence but is now working for another cab company.'

The findings on sexual violence from unknown and known men presented here clearly lend support to the above proposition: women experience a wide spectrum of violence against them.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

This chapter set out to explore the social and spatial parameters of violence. Its main findings are as follows.

1) Violence is a relatively common occurrence.

2) Women and men have fairly equal risks of violence against them.

3) Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence.

4) Violence is equally distributed between the public and private spheres.

5) Most violence against men occurs in public, most violence against women occurs in private, but in neither instance is the focus overwhelming.

6) Men are the predominant perpetrators of violence in both the private and public spheres.

7) Most male violence in the public sphere is against men, most male violence in the private sphere is against women, although male violence against women in the public sphere and male violence against men in the private sphere is not insignificant.

8) Violence is serious; respondents experienced a wide range of violent behaviours against them; injuries and the impact was correspondingly severe.

9) Women and men experienced a similar range of violent behaviours against them, use of weapons and injuries. Violence had a greater impact on women.

10) There was little difference between the home and public space with respect to the range of violent behaviours. In the home the risk of injury was slightly greater and the impact was worse.

11) Most violence is committed by someone who is known to the victim, although violence from a stranger is not insignificant in public space. Violence from strangers entering the home is negligible.

12) Women were most at risk from their current partners, followed by male acquaintances and then unknown men.

13) Men were most at risk from unknown men, followed by male acquaintances and then male friends.

14) The perpetrator of violence in a public space is equally likely to be a non-stranger as a stranger whether the victim is a woman or man.

15) Violence from partners or ex-partners in public space was relatively infrequent.

16) Women are at much greater risk of violence from partners or ex-partners. Violence against men from partners or ex-partners was relatively uncommon. Women are more likely to use violence against their partners or ex-partners in self-defence, are more likely to be injured, have a weapon used against them and experience a greater degree of impact.

17) Women experience a wide spectrum of male violence against them throughout their lives. In public space the experience of sexual harassment, indecent exposure and sexual assault was relatively common from unknown men. In private, sexual violence from men women had been out with on just a few occasions and from male family members were likewise found to be not unusual. These experiences often had a severe and long-lasting impact.

Conclusion

These findings with regards to the distribution of violence cut across the predictions of the major theories, invalidating many whilst supplying answers where there has previously only been conjecture. In particular they contradict the widespread notion that violence is a relatively infrequent occurrence which focuses on men in public space and is perpetrated by strangers. On the contrary violence is a common event and not the 'poor cousin' to property offences in the criminological agenda; it focuses equally on men and women and occurs in equal proportions in the public and private spheres and is frequently committed by non-strangers.

Patterns of victimisation have be found to be distinctly gendered. For a man the public sphere is twice as likely to be the arena of risk in comparison to the home; for a woman the pattern is exactly the opposite. For a man, strangers are the greatest risk, followed by acquaintances and then partners: the risk decreases with intimacy. For a woman, partners are by far the greatest perpetrators of violence, followed by acquaintances and then strangers; the reverse is, therefore, true. However, for men and women the one constant factor is that it is men who pose the greatest threat. Thus, this survey to a large extent has validated the radical feminist arguments, although, in highlighting the problem of domestic violence for women, we must not underestimate the danger in public space from male acquaintances and strangers; this has also proved to be not insignificant.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter I intend to spell out the methodological, theoretical and policy implications of the empirical study which constitutes the focus of this thesis and the examination of theory which provides its background.

11.1 METHODOLOGY

In the introductory chapter, I stated that domestic violence was an area which required further research, particularly on the general population. For the extent of domestic violence is recognised by numerous commentators to be an unknown quantity. But domestic violence is an extremely difficult subject to research. As Lorna Smith notes,

> By its intrinsic nature, domestic violence is an elusive research topic: it takes place behind closed doors; it is concealed from the public eye; and is often unknown to anyone outside the immediate family. Even in those cases which do come to the attention of various agencies, their response...does not necessarily aid attempts to estimate the extent of the problem. It is not solely the victims and aggressors who often wish to keep domestic violence 'in the family': many others share this attitude. (1989: 6).

It is suggested that the lack of authoritative statistics restricts the development of preventative or remedial policy to

relieve the situation (London Strategic Policy Unit, 1986; Smith, 1989). At the most obvious level, without reliable figures, it is difficult to ascertain what resources are necessary and what is the potential demand on agencies set up to tackle the problem. The research project on which this thesis is based was originally designed with this in mind. Thus, a methodology has been developed in order to generate data on the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence.

As the survey method is the only method of gaining mass data that is significantly better than police or other agency figures, I employed a variation of the victimization survey, adapted to counter the specific difficulties involved in researching this area. Well-trained, sympathetic interviewers (including minority language speakers), carefully worded questionnaires (which, for example, would repeat questions as to whether violence had occurred), a supplementary self-complete questionnaire (the 'piggy-back' method) and vignettes were utilized. 571 women and 429 men were interviewed which makes it the largest survey on domestic violence to be conducted in this country. In addition, a qualitative component was incorporated into the project in order to explore fully the nature of women's experiences.

As we have seen, the main focus of the research was on women's experiences of violence from husbands and boyfriends, including ex-partners. However, information was also collected on other forms of domestic and non-domestic violence against both women and men. I have investigated the incidence and prevalence of

domestic violence; its variation by subgroups of the population; the nature, context and impact of the violence; definitions; levels and patterns of reporting to the various agencies and satisfaction with the response; attitudes to domestic violence; the relationship of domestic to stranger violence; the location of domestic violence and non-domestic violence and the gendered distribution of violence. The examination of so many areas could not have been achieved without the use of a multiplicity of research methods.

Summary of Findings

The survey has uncovered high levels of domestic violence both in terms of the last 12 months and over the respondent's life-time. For example, eight per cent of women had been physically injured by their partners or ex-partners in the last 12 months, 27 per cent at some time in their lives. Domestic violence was also found to be a not infrequent event: a quarter of all injuries had occurred more that five times in a year. The incidence and prevalence figures generated by the project illustrate the degree to which the previous national and local surveys have underestimated the scale of the problem. The twelve monthly incidence figures enable the potential demand on agencies to be investigated.

The survey has shown women of all social groups to experience domestic violence. Furthermore, a significant proportion was perpetrated by men with whom the woman no longer had a current

relationship or with whom she had never lived. Overall women experienced a wide range of violent behaviours from their partners or ex-partners. And the research highlighted the number of ways in which women were affected by being in a violent relationship; these included overnight stays in hospitals and the need to take time off work, as well as various emotional and psychological effects. The latter trauma were frequently found to be long-lasting. Such psychological and emotional effects are the consequence of being in a violent relationship, not the cause. It also illustrated the various coping and resistance strategies adopted by women in the face of such violence and how patterns of domestic violence develop over time.

The study indicated that a significant amount of domestic violence had not been previously reported to anyone. In terms of incidents that were reported, friends and relatives emerged as the first port of call. Police and general practitioners were the lead agencies. All of the agencies to which women turned were criticised to a greater or lesser degree, with the exception of women's refuges. With respect to explanations for the violence, women who had experienced domestic violence mostly related it to reasons of control. It allowed men to maintain power in the relationship, in situations where they felt insecure and unable to express or negotiate their feelings in non-violent ways. On the factors that prevent women from leaving violent relationships, these were largely found to be structural, caused by economic dependence, lack of alternative accommodation and children. However, emotional ties were also cited, as was fear

of reprisals.

The findings from the vignettes corroborated the high levels of acceptance of male violence against women and indicate that violence is seen as justifiable in response to certain 'transgressions' on the woman's part - especially with regards to sexual infidelity. This illustrates the role of violence as a control mechanism ensuring the 'good' behaviour of women, for men see women as their property, particularly their sexual property.

In terms of the social and spatial parameters of violence against women and men, violence in general was found to be extremely common; it is not the 'poor cousin' to property offences. It focuses equally on men and women, yet men are the predominant perpetrators. It is equally distributed between the public and private spheres. Most violence against women occurs in private, most violence against men occurs in public, but in neither case is the focus overwhelming. In the home the risk of injury was slightly greater and the impact was worse and violence from strangers was also found to be not insignificant. Indeed, in highlighting the dangers of domestic violence, we must not underestimate the dangers for women in public space from male acquaintances and strangers. These findings illustrate that domestic violence is situated within a continuum of violence against women.

11.2 THEORY

This thesis has centred not just on the development of methodology and the subsequent findings arising from the research project, it has also analysed four major criminological traditions which attempt explanation of domestic violence. Namely, classicism (including the new administrative criminology), positivism, feminism and left realism. It has delineated their main principles and shown how each has been applied to explain, research and combat domestic violence and identified the strengths and weaknesses of each position. Furthermore, the empirical data generated by the research project enabled the testing of various hypotheses derived from the theoretical literature about the nature of violence, particularly with regards to its social and spatial patterning. These findings invalidated many of the predictions derived from theory. For example, it showed the 'battered husband syndrome', of the positivist, family violence approach, to be largely a myth and countered the claim of the new administrative criminology that violence is relatively uncommon in comparison to property offences. It also supplied answers where there had previously only been conjecture as to the distribution of violent behaviour.

On examination, the approaches of radical feminism and left realism were found to provide the most useful framework for understanding the phenomenon. It is necessary to build on the contributions made by radical feminism and left realism and attempt to achieve a synthesis of their positions: a <u>feminist</u>

realism within criminology. The insights gained from radical feminism and left realism were utilized to inform the research methodology. For example, the exploration of definitional differences and the generation of consensus definitions was derived from left realism and the use of sensitive research techniques from radical feminism. Many of the research findings resulting from the research support the common positions of radical feminism and left realism, for example, with respect to the gendered distribution and widespread nature of violence against women. However, some of the predictions derived from radical feminism and left realism are divergent and here the empirical results provide a basis on which to build a feminist realism.

The Endemic Nature of Domestic Violence

Both radical feminism and left realism are constructionist in that they see human beings as being constituted by the structures and discourses of patriarchy and capitalism respectively. The causes of domestic violence are, therefore, to be found not as blemishes in an otherwise satisfactory social system but as endemic to the core structures of present day society.

Of great importance in terms of the theoretical backcloth to this thesis has been the radical feminist contention that violence is central to the maintenance of patriarchal order. Violence is seen as a powerful means of subordinating women, thus

serving as a key mechanism of social control. This position has been consistently verified by the empirical findings at every stage of the research study. Violence against women is widespread, it exists throughout the class structure and is viewed both by men and women as a mode of control. A significant finding was that even in those relationships where violence did not occur, the women were well aware of the types of behaviour which would be likely to evoke violence from their partners. Indeed women's predictions of those behaviours which would elicit violence concurred with those in which men suggested they would be likely to be violent. All of this confirms the radical feminist position but what it does not suggest is that violence is the main method of patriarchal dominance (economic superiority is also of great importance) nor that it true for all heterosexual relationships (a minority of men and women would not use or expect violence in any situation).

This construction can be readily melded with the left realist stress on capitalism as creating differential levels of vulnerability within society. Capitalism generates massive inequalities in the social structure. Women, in particular, have less access to money and resources, and are frequently economically dependent on men and/or the state. In the Ladywood Crime Survey, for example, realists drew attention to how cuts in public sector expenditure, changes in the structure and organisation of the housing market and the social benefit system have increased women's unemployment and dependence (Painter et al, 1990b). These changes also reinforce women's restricted

access to community facilities such as child care, transport education and health. Thus, if radical feminism points to the causes of domestic violence within the social order, realism can help explain the factors that prevent women from leaving violent men and why men are able to get away with such violence. Substantive inequalities make women financially dependent on men and/ or the welfare state. Factors such as women's lack of work opportunities, low pay and resulting economic dependence on men are likely to influence their decision to leave or return to violent partners, particularly if they have children. As we have seen structural reasons in the study were commonly given by women for staying with violent men: 27 per cent cited economic dependence, 26 per cent 'nowhere to go/ lack of affordable accommodation', 20 per cent children/ break up of family home'.

But it is not only economic dependence but spatial divisions which facilitate domestic violence. For the liberal state on which capitalism is founded is noted for its division of society into public and private spheres, with the private sphere relatively immune from state interference. Within this sanctuary of privacy, opportunities for violence regularly occur and deterrence is low. Furthermore, in this century the family has become more private and thus less susceptible to informal controls over behaviour. As Laslett (1973) has pointed out, the family is more private due to changes in household composition (for example, there has been a decrease in the number of children born and it is less likely to be composed of extended family members) and developments in architectural styles and practices.

Thus behaviour is less visible and less prone to detection than it was in the past.

The Social Construction of Definition

Radical feminism highlights the fact that what constitutes 'domestic violence' is not a given, taken-for-granted, construct but one which is subject to male-oriented definitions. As Liz Kelly comments, conventional definitions of violence and legal categories, 'reflect men's ideas and limit the range of male behaviour that is deemed unacceptable to the most extreme, gross and public forms' (1988a: 138). Radical feminists note that when conventional definitions are utilized, women find themselves caught between their own experience which they regard as abusive and the dominant male discourse which defines such behaviour as normal or to be expected.

Realism concurs with radical feminism but places even greater emphasis on the problematic nature of all social problems. Definition is always up for grabs: for the central premise of realism is the dyadic nature of crime and deviance. There are no monolithic definitions of what constitutes a problem: rather, it depends on whose base one takes as defining domestic violence, whether it be that of men, women or any subgroup therein. Definitions of domestic violence vary according to the values and the perceptions of the group doing the defining. What is violence to one person may not necessary be to another. The process of defining what constitutes violence is likely to be

affected by such factors as gender, age, ethnicity, class, education and the context of the violence. An initial task therefore of the study was to establish to what extent there is a consensus of definition amongst women and the limits of this consensus. The demarcation of a consensus definition enabled the creation of a general rate of violence termed 'composite domestic violence'. This allowed the exploration of variations in the rates of domestic violence across subsections of the population. The use of such a consensus definition countered the argument that violence rates are simply a reflection of definitional variations between different parts of the population.

Extent and Distribution

Both radical feminism and left realism agree as to the widespread nature of violence against women and its gendered distribution. They have argued it is much more prevalent than official statistics or conventional victimisation surveys would have us believe. Both concur, 'that women's fear of crime is based in an accurate assessment of risk rather than overactive imaginations or hysterical tendencies of females' (Ahluwalia, 1992: 246). This contention has been extensively borne out by the empirical findings presented in this study. There has, however, been a lack of clarity as to how such violence is distributed by class, age and ethnicity. For example, there is a tendency in radical feminism to view domestic violence as evenly spread throughout the social structure, whereas, realists point to a differential distribution stressing an inverse

relationship with class. The findings of this study illuminate this debate. A key differentiation made is between the class position of the male perpetrator and the female victim. Thus, if we examine the class position of the man, we find domestically violent men occur in all parts of the class structure. Both professional and working class men were equally as likely to be violent to their partners although lower middle-class men somewhat less. Taking the woman's class position into account, however, professional women did have significantly lower rates against them. This seemed to relate to their greater access to resources. Professional women are likely to be more able to get out of a relationship before it becomes violent. They were also less likely to have children which would serve to bind them to the relationship. Of further relevance here is that professional women were more likely to define mental cruelty as domestic violence than other groups of women, mental cruelty being found to be a feature in the early stages of a violent relationship before the onset of physical violence. Thus they were not only more able to leave a violent relationship, they were also more likely to move out early in that relationship.

Such findings do not corroborate the realist notion of a class link which is a function of displaced economic deprivation amongst lower class men. On the contrary they suggest that it is the class of the victim rather than the offender which is paramount and that this is a product not of victim precipitation but of victim mobility. Nor do they concur with a radical feminist notion of equal levels of victimisation irrespective of

class, but the problem here is of less significance theoretically, being predicated merely on the differential ability of better off women to move away from aggressive men.

Impact

Both radical feminists and realists stress the considerable impact of violence on women's lives but, whereas radical feminists tend to see male violence as a central pillar in patriarchy and in the control and restriction of all women, realists stress a greater differentiation of impact. With this in mind, the contours of the impact of domestic and non-domestic violence on women's lives by class, age and ethnicity and public and private space have been examined in this thesis. In terms of spatial distribution, violence of all forms had a greater impact when it occurred in the home as opposed to that inflicted by a stranger in public. This is undoubtedly because it is less likely to be a one-off and occurs within an emotional relationship. No matter what the social circumstances of women domestic violence was found to have a long-lasting impact. However, as we have seen, women with more access to money and other resources and support systems were able to get out quicker, thus lessening the overall impact. Social circumstances obviously compound the problems women face, particularly if they have children. Thus, although contrary to the expectations of left realism domestic violence occurs across class lines, its impact is greatly mediated by class. Lastly, following the approach suggested in the radical feminist literature, the coping

and resistance strategies adopted by women in response to domestic violence were explored in order to gain a fuller picture of how women deal with their experiences.

Utilizing Both Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

There has been a tendency for radical feminists to favour qualitative methods and realists to emphasise the utility of the quantitative victimisation study although both, in common, stress the use of sensitive methods. There is, however, nothing inherent in either position to generate such a dichotomous approach and the emphasis in this research is on the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The need to use multiple methods has been stressed throughout this thesis.

11.3 POLICY

Long Term Solutions Versus Short Term Intervention

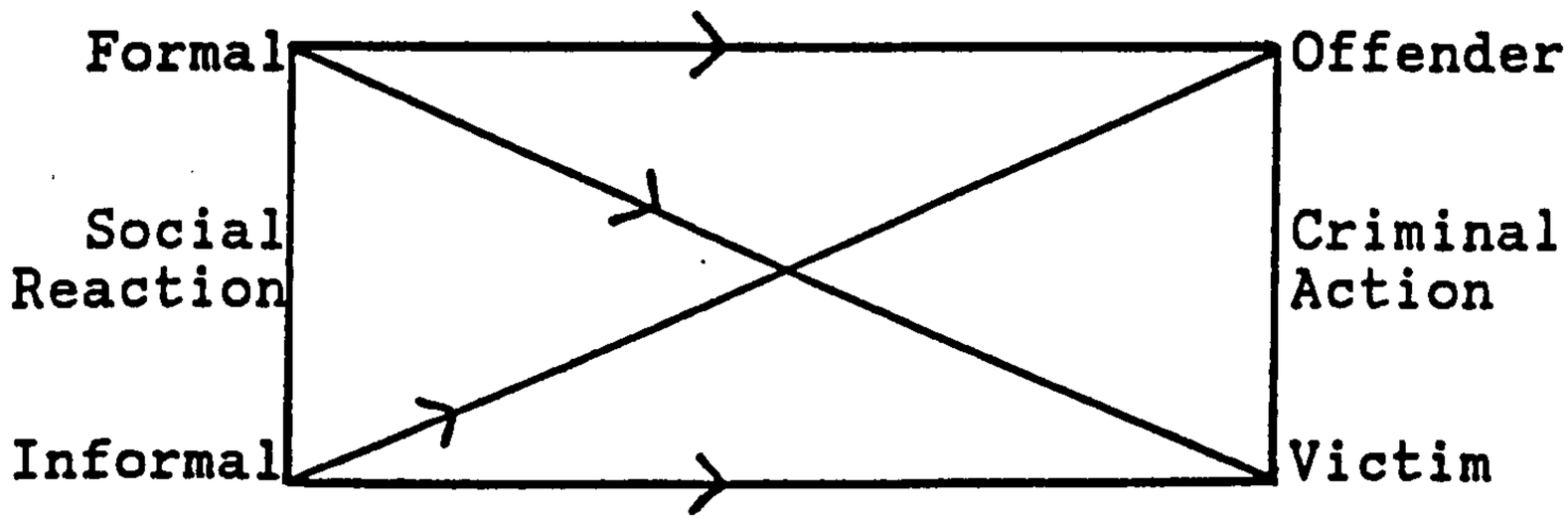
Ultimately, for both radical feminists and left realists, change has to occur at the level of the social structure - in terms of the re-ordering of society away from patriarchal and capitalist lines, respectively - for there to be an end to or even a considerable reduction in domestic violence. Furthermore, radical political commitment is necessary to bring this change about, for both these radical currents in criminology view the problem as endemic in society rather than as a superficial

problem that can easily be ameliorated. This position is endorsed in this thesis. In the meantime, however, there are various short and medium term measures that can be adopted both to alleviate the problem and to spur on the process of more radical change. The measures outlined below have arisen from the findings of the research. They are, of course, by no means exhaustive but all the main agencies for change are discussed.

In order to elaborate systematically the policy implications of the research, I will utilize the square of crime schema which has been developed in realist analysis. This allows us to differentiate the points of intervention with regards to offenders and victims, the types of agencies involved and the time sequence of intervention.

A key principle of realism is that the control of crime must reflect the nature of crime. This means that the reality of control must start from the fundamental premise that crime consists of two dyads: an offender and a victim, which constitute the criminal act, and the reaction to the act which consists of informal and formal interventions. Such a 'square' of crime is central to realist thinking.

FIGURE 1: The Square of Crime



Such a square immediately suggests four logical points of intervention (arrowed in the diagram): formal intervention with regards to offender and victim and informal intervention likewise. Although such a four-fold intervention may seem obvious, it frequently does not appear so either in criminological theory or crime control practice. Indeed, as Jock Young notes, 'the most predominant traditional stereotype of crime control is that of the formal reaction to the offender and a solitary formal agency, the police, occupying centre stage (witness "the thin blue line")' (forthcoming).

The social reaction to crime needs to be elaborated. This can involve (a) <u>control</u>: the closing down of possibilities for the offender but also less frequently for the victim (e.g. by crime prevention measures and avoidance strategies); (b) <u>facilitation</u>: the opening up of possibilities, in the case of the offender, rehabilitation and alternative non-criminal forms of behaviour, and for the victim presenting ways out of, for example, a violent relationship or an environment exposed to predatory property crime; (c) <u>definition</u>: very importantly, realism stresses that

the extent and characterisation of a crime or social problem is a product of the definition of what constitutes the problem and the behaviour to which it is applied. It is not a 'fact' out there which simply has to be measured and described as positivism would maintain, nor a phenomenon whose constitution and size is more a product of the definers than the defined as social constructionists would have us believe. (Ibid).

This reconceptualization of social reaction transforms it from the notion of an external social structure which simply restricts crime to one where there is not only control but also freedom. It is about restricting deleterious behaviour and providing escape from such behaviour. Further, it importantly views the extent and nature of a problem as up for grabs.

The range of institutions and people who constitute the 'social reaction' against crime must be emphasised. The line Formal to Informal of the square of crime encompasses agencies such as the police and the criminal justice system, through to social services and education, through local authority housing and environmental developments, through to private industry, relationships of employment and trade unions, through to voluntary organisations, such as youth groups, churches, tenants and residence organisations, to peer groups, the family and one to one interpersonal relationships. It refers to the total social structure in which individuals exist in our society both as offenders and as victims, and as part of the general public who endemically, if not consistently, break laws and become

victims at sometime or another.

Lastly, realism stresses that different interventions by differing agencies will be necessary at different points of time and stages of a problem (see Young, 1992a and b). Briefly, here, we will distinguish those which tackle the background conditions which give rise to domestic violence, those which confront the immediate act of violence and those which provide back-up after the event:

The above discussion provides us with a framework of questions within which to evaluate good practice in intervention in the area of domestic violence, namely:

1. Offender: to what extent does it control the offender and what alternatives does it provide to violent behaviour?

2. Victim: to what extent does it protect the victim and to what degree does it open up possibilities for the victim to avoid domestic violence?

3. Definition: to what extent does it contest and question definitions of what constitutes domestic violence?

4. Timing: to what extent does the intervention deal with the background causes of domestic violence, the actual violent event or the future likelihood of violence?

The Need for Multi-Agency

I will deal with the agencies, both formal and informal, as outlined above. Of course, not all of the above roles are tackled by each agency.

The research uncovered high levels of domestic violence and it is apparent that such a large problem has to be dealt with on a multi-agency basis, both because of the numbers involved and the range of problems which women experience. For it is important for all concerned to recognise, as McGibbon, Cooper and Kelly (1989) point out, that women see themselves, the perpetrator and the violence, differently at different stages in the relationship and, therefore, their needs and concerns will change in accordance with this. The particular configuration of agencies involved will, therefore, differ according to the stage at which the violent relationship is confronted.

All agencies, both statutory and voluntary, need to be brought together to develop and co-ordinate effective policy responses to domestic violence. In some areas Domestic Violence Forums have been set-up to facilitate this (for example, as in

Islington, Tottenham, West Hendon and Wolverhampton). As Victim Support notes, Domestic Violence Forums help to, 'strengthen inter-agency co-operation to maximise the choices and services available to women who are subject to violence in their relationships' (Ibid: 78).

The work carried out by the agencies needs to be carefully evaluated, with particular attention given to the criticisms made by women in the research project and by those groups who are reluctant to use certain agencies. Further research is clearly necessary, especially with respect to ethnic minorities, to ascertain in more depth their reasons for non-reporting and their specific needs. Finally, and this goes almost without saying, multi-agency approaches must be democratic in nature, provide a gendered analysis of violence against women and all the agencies involved need to be well-resourced and adequately funded. Domestic violence awareness training must also be considered compulsory for all members of staff likely to come into contact with women experiencing domestic violence.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Realists have argued that the criminal justice system has a key role in controlling the offender, as well as assisting with the protection of the victim. Radical feminists are more ambivalent: 'the criminal justice system has not necessarily been seen as a desirable component of a feminist agenda' (Currie, 1990: 78).

Indeed, as Susan Edwards notes, some have suggested that, 'the state and the law, the legal mechanism and the police are part of a patriarchal structure under which attempts at legal reform are only tinkerings within the overall system of control and regulation - so legal change serves only to perpetuate the basic conditions of patriarchy' (1989: 15). However, many radical feminists do, in fact, campaign in this area and, it is pointed out, 'as a feminist struggle for justice, these demands are defended on a number of logical grounds: women only want the same *kind of justice* that has been given to other victims of crime; feminism is not responsible for the current form of male justice, it only asks for it to be applied consistently against men; the use of criminal legislation against violence against women establishes the principle of women's dignity as a people by recognition of violence against them as a major crime' (Currie, 1990: 85, original emphasis). Thus, in Britain, feminists have endorsed the Metropolitan Police's statement to treat domestic violence as seriously as assaults in the street and called for assurances to be given that this is being implemented.

The Police

The role of the police focuses on the present, that is with controlling the offender and protecting the victim. Its purchase on the past is dependent on the general deterrence effect of present interventions together with the symbolic significance of police action. Its effect on the victim and her future depends on the level of protection that policing can offer and the

individual deterrent effect on the offender himself. The police have a further role in that they are a key agency in assessing whether the level of violence is sufficient to warrant legal intervention (i.e. at the level of definition) and, additionally, they are so positioned as to be a point of referral with regards to other agencies.

* Police as Gatekeepers

The police are the 'gate-keepers' of the criminal justice system; together with general practitioners they emerged as the lead agencies in this study. 17 per cent of women who had experienced domestic violence had been to the police in the last twelve months. However, this does reveal a high dark figure which is cause for concern. It goes without saying that the deterrent effect of policing as well as the positive benefits of quick response are belied by such a considerable dark figure. An important index of the success of policing is, therefore, to increase the level of reporting.

* Police at the Scene

The police repeatedly come under criticism for poor response times and on arrival the police at the scene were often found just to mediate and refer the woman to the Domestic Violence Unit. Interviews with the police who had been called out to an incident (see Appendix VII) showed them as unsure of the help and advice they could offer and lacking awareness of the dynamics of

a violent relationship.

It is necessary that all officers should be equipped with the knowledge of women's rights in the situation (e.g. injunctions) and referral agencies. As Victim Support suggests, 'officers should routinely carry with them a small card or leaflet giving the addresses of local organisations that can offer the woman support, to be handed over when the assailant is not present' (1992: 14). But the provision of this information should not be seen as a replacement for any action addressed towards the offender, such as arrest. All police officers must be able to respond appropriately and effectively. As Hague et al stress, 'the crucial point...is that police officers must treat assaults in the home as serious crime, and listen to the woman's point of view' (1989: 35, original emphasis).

* Protection of the Woman

Where possible the woman should be assisted to any place of refuge (e.g to a friend or family member's home or to a woman's refuge). Her safety must be of paramount importance, particularly if the perpetrator is 'at large' in the community.

Arrest is important for reasons of deterrence: the majority of women in this study said they wanted the man arrested. However, in reality, 'visible injuries which, if they had occurred in a pub fight would have resulted in immediate arrest and charge, have in cases of domestic violence, often resulted in mere verbal

warnings and no action' (Victim Support, 1992: 14). And, as the interviews with women showed, the most common response at the scene is that of mediation. There is, therefore, evidence that the police are still not treating domestic violence as seriously as assaults in the street. Yet in contrast to much street violence, the incident of domestic violence is, as this study shows, unlikely to have been the first and is unlikely to be the last episode. Women said that they felt arrest made them feel protected. They felt safer that the police were taking the action rather than themselves. There was also some evidence from the qualitative interviews that arrest had a deterrent effect. Moreover, as Morley and Mullender point out, 'it is obviously the case that arrest provides the victim with immediate protection by removing the assailant, and if he is held in custody long enough, may give the victim time to make plans for her safety' (1992: 270). Finally, arrest can be seen as giving, 'the police a tangible product for work which is conventionally viewed as a waste of time, and thus may encourage them to take 'domestics' more seriously' (Ibid).

* Arrest

Arrests, however, were found to be infrequently made (see Tables A2 and A3, in Appendix VII) despite the fact - as mentioned above - that in the majority of cases women reported that they wanted the man arrested. The need for improvement in arrest rates has been noted by several commentators (McGibbon et al, 1989; Walklate, 1992b; Victim Support, 1992) although it is

stressed that pro-arrest policies must occur as part of a co-ordinated community response in which women are provided with a comprehensive support system (Morley and Mullender, 1992). Further, arrest may be seen as sending a symbolic message to society: many feminist activists argue, 'arrest sends important messages to assailants, victims and the community at large that domestic violence is a serious crime which society will not tolerate' (Ibid: 270). And as Lorna Smith comments, 'arrest underscores the seriousness of the incident and demonstrates to the victim that her right to police protection will not be denied' (1989: 93).

* Domestic Violence Units

The Domestic Violence Units have been widely praised. However, a number of women reported difficulties in getting through to the Unit by telephone: there was either an answer machine on or the line was engaged. The officers running the Units reported that they had difficulties in coping with the work load. There is clearly a need for more resources in this area, including civilian staff to help with the administrative work (see record keeping below). There was also concern expressed by the Chief Superintendents interviewed that the Domestic Violence Units might lead to the problem being marginalised in the force (i.e being seen as the sole responsibility of the Unit rather than as that of all officers) and, as we have seen, there is some evidence that this occurring. Domestic Violence Units, 'must be set up as part of an overall service response to domestic

violence and should not be regarded as the only police response' (Victim Support, 1992: 16). Finally, there is the need for good relations with other agencies, the relationship with refuges was reported as occasionally being difficult. This needs improvement for, as Walklate notes, 'it is within the refuge movement that the knowledge and expertise lies with respect to this issue' (1992b: 42). And women in this study expressed high levels of satisfaction with the response from refuges.

Record Keeping

The record keeping at the stations studied for the subsidiary project on policing was generally good, although the officers reported having difficulties in keeping up with the work load generated. It is essential that accurate, comprehensive, up-to-date records are maintained so that when an officer is called to a scene she or he is aware of the history and pattern of offending, whether an injunction is in place and so on. This will enable the situation to be more quickly assessed and relevant advice given. Computerised records would enable the information to be quickly and easily retrieved.

Clearly, in terms of official records it is necessary that accurate figures are kept which enable domestic violence to be separated out from other forms of violent crime. This would, for example, facilitate the monitoring of arrest rates. At present 'domestic violence' does not appear as a category of offence in the official criminal statistics.

* Publicity

Low levels of reporting to the police were recorded amongst working class and ethnic minority women (with the exception of those of African Caribbean descent). This needs to be investigated and publicity on the help available directed at these groups. Indeed, women were generally not aware of the new police initiatives: 41 per cent of those experiencing domestic violence in the last 12 month and 37 per cent of all women had not heard of Domestic Violence Units. And as McGibbon et al note, 'past practice continues to inform local opinion of police response' (1989: 101). When women cited their reasons for not reporting, it was found that a significant number did not believe the police would be effective or take it seriously. Clearly the police need to get their message across that domestic assaults are dealt with as seriously as those occurring in the street and they must make sure that this actually occurs. Women need to have faith in the new police initiatives. Publicity in general should be high profile and explicit about what is offered.

Crown Prosecution Service

Since the formation of the Crown Prosecution Service, it is they and not the police who decide whether prosecution proceeds, although their decision to prosecute is obviously influenced by police information. It is, thus, ultimately the Crown Prosecution Service which determines the definition of what

represents prosecutable violence and the possible deterrent effect of the criminal justice system.

* Problem of Down-Criming

The police criticise the Crown Prosecution Service for down-criming or dropping charges, particularly from indictable to summary offences, thus keeping them at the level of the magistrates court. The Crown Prosecution Service must treat domestic violence seriously. As the Victim Support report points out,

> ...the Crown Prosecution Service needs to be aware of the special difficulties which arise in dealing with offences of domestic violence. Charges of domestic violence which get as far as the CPS have already passed through a very demanding filtering process. The position is quite different from that of other offences of personal violence. For these other offences, the CPS probably needs to be alert to the danger of over-processing; that of bringing charges at too serious a level or of bringing charges that should not be brought. In cases of domestic violence the evidence suggests under-processing is the more pressing danger. (1992: 20).

As Table A3 in Appendix VII shows many women withdraw: if the Crown Prosecution Service is to develop a sensitive approach in their handling of domestic violence cases, it is essential that their employees understand the factors that contribute to this. They must also be aware that cases that come to their attention are unlikely to be a first offence and the great courage it takes for a woman to go to court and face her partner.

* Record keeping

The records kept by the Crown Prosecution Service do not distinguish domestic violence as a category of offence, so it is difficult to monitor their response and compare it with their treatment of other violent offences.

* Withdrawal and Compellability

Given the high levels of withdrawal, it has been argued that prosecution should be taken out of the victim's hands and compellability used. Since the introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, the Crown Prosecution Service have had the power to compel a reluctant witness, whether a partner or ex-partner, to court and give evidence at a trial. Concern over the use and impact of compulsion on women was voiced in 1989 when Judge James Pickles committed Michelle Renshaw to prison for contempt of court for refusing to testify against her partner who was accused of wounding her. Renshaw refused to give evidence because she had received threatening telephone calls and been followed. Hague and Malos argue that Pickles' action, 'suggests a danger that the compellability provision might be used, or not used, according to the perceptions of the needs of the criminal justice system rather than for the good of women experiencing domestic violence' (1993: 82).

As we have seen, in terms of arrest women do want the action to be taken out of their hands so they are not seen as directly responsible. But to take this one step further and apply it to the prosecution process is clearly controversial, as the Renshaw case demonstrates. Those in favour of removing the decision to prosecute from the woman have argued that it would serve to protect her for, 'there is no point in the aggressor threatening and intimidating her about the trial as the decision as to whether it goes ahead or not (is) out of her hands' (Victim Support, 1992: 18). Whether the perpetrator would actually see it that way, however, is a different matter. And when women in the in-depth interviews were asked what they thought about compulsion, they said the prospect of it occurring would be 'horrifying' and that it would deter women from contacting the police or other sources of help. One women who withdrew charges said,

> 'if I had been made to go to court and testify I would have been completely choked. I wouldn't have known what to do. It would have been a complete nightmare. Even thinking about it now makes me feel sick.'

It is therefore recommended that women should not be compelled to go to court. The high level of withdrawal indicates the need for on-going support for women. With respect to going through the criminal justice system such support must occur before, during and after the trial.

The Court

* Women's Experience

Women found the court experience to be extremely intimidating: improvements clearly need to be made. There should be a greater awareness of the ordeal that going to court represents and the specific needs of women in domestic violence cases. In the first instance, there should be separate waiting areas: women reported coming face-to-face with their partner or ex-partner before the hearing to be a particular problem. Provision should be made to ensure that women are accompanied to and from court and are supported during the hearing. McGibbon et al draw attention to a scheme in South West Yorkshire in which a court liaison officer is appointed whose main purpose is to liaise with and support female and child witnesses at court. They advocate similar schemes but suggest utilizing Crown Prosecution Service employees, for they, 'would naturally have a much more formal position within the structure of the courts and could possibly stand by a witness in the box' (1989: 103). The report of the Victim Support Working Party also recommends that more, 'use could be made of Section 23 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988, whereby police statements could be accepted in court and the woman would not have to appear in person' (1992: 21). Finally, consideration should be given to the employment wherever possible of other witnesses rather than the victim herself (Ibid).

* Sentencing

Women, as we have seen, are not on the whole in favour of severe sentencing. Their paramount concern was their safety, not the man's punishment; for his behaviour to be changed or curtailed, not for retribution or revenge. Action on the spot preferably arrest was, therefore, of high priority and cautioning deemed the most appropriate punishment. Sentencing was seen to be useful in that it offered protection. Importantly here, therapy and counselling of the man, as well as the woman, was one of the highest priorities of women. The tying of such counselling to sentencing might, therefore, be of great advantage. Work with men by both prison and probation staff should focus on offending behaviour and the development of attitudes and skills that minimize the possibility of re-occurrence (Victim Support, 1992; Hague and Malos, 1993).

* Keeping the Woman Informed

At every stage of the criminal justice process the woman must to be kept informed of the situation (for example, with regards to when the man is about to be released from police custody, when granted bail, released from prison and so on) and assessed according to the support and protection she may want.

OTHER LEGAL SERVICES

Women displayed a high level of dissatisfaction with the civil legal remedies available. Injunctions were found to have limited effect. Other commentators have said they are only useful if accompanied by a power of arrest. As Hague and Malos point out with a power of arrest added they,

> ...can be an important protective measure for women and children experiencing violence: it means the police can arrest without a warrant if they have cause to believe an injunction has been broken, even if no other arrestable offence, such as further violence, has occurred. An injunction without a power of arrest only allows the police to arrest for offences under the criminal or common law. A power of arrest also means that, if arrested, the man must be brought back to court within twenty-four hours for the case to be heard. (1993: 88).

However, judges have been found to be reluctant to grant powers of arrest or grant exclusion orders which require the offender to leave the home, the latter being seen as interfering with the property rights of the man (Ibid). Powers of arrest must always be added when an assault has taken place and exclusion orders made more readily obtainable.

* Legal aid should be made more available. Women who are employed, even if on low wages, are increasingly finding they have to make a substantial contribution to their legal fees and may have to pay the full amount. This is likely to deter them from seeking legal advice and taking out injunctions. Some

solicitors have also been found to be reluctant to apply for emergency legal aid.

* A twenty-four hour civil legal service should, in addition, be introduced. As Victim Support points out,

> A woman who is assaulted at night or during the weekend or a bank holiday may need to seek protection immediately. She may wish to take out an emergency injunction, out of normal working hours, or, if a court order or undertaking is already in force, she may wish to take advice immediately on what to do about the breach. (1992: 32).

To conclude this section, it is important to underscore the necessity for a multi-agency approach and to discard the notion of the criminal justice system being the sole bulwark against domestic violence. For,

> It is important to recognise that neither civil nor criminal sanctions can offer a solution to domestic violence, or deal adequately with its consequences for those who experience it. Only a comprehensive approach involving many different services and agencies, including adequate, independent advice and advocacy services and emergency temporary and permanent alternative accommodation, will even begin to deal with these consequences. (Hague and Malos, 1993: 107).

Let us now turn to the role of these other agencies:

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The role of local authorities extends across the timespan of the problem of domestic violence although it is concerned primarily with the victim in contrast to the offender focus of the criminal justice system.

* Housing

Housing is a key area. As we have seen, it was one of the main reasons given for remaining in a violent relationship. Women expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the housing department: they were frequently told that the housing list was full, that it would be years before they could expect to be rehoused and their only option was to go into bed and breakfast accommodation.

Many women need to move out of their homes and frequently out of the immediate locality for safety reasons. As Victim Support notes, women experiencing violence from partners or ex-partners, 'are likely to have two basic housing requirements: they need access to emergency or temporary safe accommodation as part of the process of escaping the abuse, and eventually they are likely to need safe permanent housing in a suitable area' (1992: 37). Local authorities, therefore, must review their policies to ensure women experiencing domestic violence are a priority need. Given the high level of satisfaction expressed with the response from women's refuges, local authorities should provide more

resources in this area. However, as Davina James-Hanman (1993), Islington Council's Domestic Violence Co-ordinator, points out, women's refuges do not provide accommodation for all women, for example, those who have alcohol problems or older male children are generally excluded. Thus, it is necessary to incorporate similar services to those offered by refuges into other forms of temporary accommodation used by the local authority. Obviously, to provide permanent housing out of the district, good reciprocal links must be established with other local authorities.

Although the role of housing in determining the freedom of the woman to move out of a violent situation is well known, the possibility of housing departments acting in a deterrent fashion toward the offender is less often recognised. Local authorities should put in place violence and harassment clauses in their tenancy agreements. This would enable women to remain in their homes, providing it is safe for them to do so, and to enable the transfer of joint tenancies to the woman's name. Yet even where such a clause is in place implementation is another matter. Islington Council, for example, do have such a clause. However, an internal report revealed that the legal department has never been instructed by a housing officer to act on the clause and the casework experience of the Women's Equality Unit revealed no woman having been informed of this option (Sands, 1993). Yet it should be noted that 29 per cent of women experiencing violence in the last 12 months thought an appropriate response to domestic violence was for the man to leave home for good, in comparison to 12 per cent who thought the woman should leave.

* Employment

In terms of employment local authorities should take the lead, particularly as they are often the largest employers in urban areas. If a woman is being harassed by an ex-partner she should be given the option of transferring to another job location. It must also be recognised that abusive men should not be in positions where they will come into contact with women seeking help and advice with regards to domestic violence. Any member of staff convicted of a violent offence should be transferred immediately. (see James-Hanman, 1993).

* Appointment of Domestic Violence Co-ordinators

Several local authorities have appointed Domestic Violence Co-ordinators. Their role should be to raise awareness both internally within the organisation and externally in terms of the public and other agencies; develop Domestic Violence Forums; encourage, co-ordinate and evaluate inter-agency policy responses; provide a central point for data collection and advise on domestic violence awareness training.

MEDICAL SERVICES

Medical agencies are obviously concerned with the latter part of the problem of domestic violence, that is, with the results rather than the preconditions. But medical workers can, importantly, be in a position to note the early signs and facilitate intervention before matters become more serious.

NON-STATUTORY AGENCIES

Non-statutory agencies are concerned very largely with dealing with the impact of domestic violence. Their role is providing refuges, support and counselling.

* Women's Refuges

The valuable role of Women's Aid who run the majority of refuges must be acknowledged. As Liz Kelly comments, refuges offer women not just a place of safety,

> (but a) different way of understanding what happened to them and the possibility of not being the 'victim' or 'client'. We talked about self-help, working with women, rather than for them. (1991b: 35).

There is an immediate need for more resources to be allocated to refuges. In terms of accommodation, demand is greatly in excess of that available. In 1990 London Women's Aid were only able to make refuge placements for 40 per cent of the requests

received that year (Victim Support, 1992). As the problem of domestic violence is highlighted the pressure is likely to increase. In Edinburgh in the first six months of the Zero Tolerance publicity campaign on violence against women, referrals to Edinburgh Women's Aid doubled and, 'the majority of those women and children who approached the centre had to be turned away' (McCarthy, 1994). Increased funding and adequate staffing would enable refuges to develop other services, such as outreach work with women who, for whatever reason, were not able to be resident in the refuge; support for children and post-refuge assistance.

* Counselling and Drop-in Centres

Women expressed the need for long-term counselling and drop-in centres where they could get advice and meet other women who had been through similar experiences. A 24 hour help-line should be established.

SOCIAL SERVICES

The role of social services is directed both at the offender and the victim.

* Offender

The possibility of perpetrator programmes needs to be explored. There are at present several schemes in operation, for example, MOVE based in Bolton, CHANGE in Stirling and the Men's Centre in London. Perpetrator programmes should, however, only be established under certain conditions. Davina James-Hanman has out-lined eight 'golden rules' which should form the foundation for any programme dealing with violent men. These are as follows:

1. The safety of women and children must be made paramount. The responsibility of any project or programme must always be to women and children who have been abused and to the wider community NOT to the violent men. The need to ensure the protection of women and children must over- ride all other principles (e.g. confidentiality). It also means the inclusion of concurrent empowerment work with women whilst any programme for men is being carried out. Facilitators of work with women should not be the same as facilitators for work with men. Nor should couple counselling form any part of a programme as this is not an appropriate method by which domestic violence should be addressed.

2. All projects should begin from the premise that the violent man is fully, solely and unequivocally responsible for the violence and for stopping it.

3. Nothing should be included in any programme which is 'victim-blaming' or which offers prescriptions for the woman's future behaviour. The emphasis should be on power relationships not on family dynamics.

4. No project should allow or encourage the

decriminalisation of domestic violence. Men's projects should be seen as an 'optional extra' NOT as an alternative. Counselling and/or therapy for men must form only part of a total programme of society's response to domestic violence.

5. All work must be properly responsive to the needs and views of women and children. This includes taking action to ensure adequate provision for the safety of women and children and not competing for resources.

6. As a minimum, all facilitators of men's projects should be experienced, adequately trained, have access to regular supervision and NEVER collude with the violence. Facilitators should have a sound analysis of the causes and degree of societal support for male violence and be able to deal effectively with misogynist attitudes within any group. They should also be alert to the probability that men will replace physical abuse with other forms of abuse and be prepared to challenge the use of these control strategies. This may also manifest itself within the group by the formation of an informal hierarchy. Facilitators should spend time on challenging this so as to enable the development of peer disapproval as an additional tool.

7. Work should be aimed at enabling violent men to understand how they have come to learn that their violence has been an effective tool to achieve a position that they have learnt is acceptable. More importantly, work should also enable men to understand and 're-learn' that this is not acceptable.

8. Programmes or projects should be developed within a framework which can readily impose controls or penalties for further violence. This monitoring of effectiveness will help in establishing the viability and usefulness of working with violent men. (1993: 75-6).

* Victim

This study showed women to turn first to a friend or member of the family before seeking agency help. Services for women experiencing domestic violence should clearly work with women's own help-seeking strategies and informal support must be built-up (see Education Initiatives below). Women need assistance and

advice on their options and non-judgemental support is essential. Agencies and the public need to be aware that getting free from a violent relationship can take a long time and for some women may never occur. As McGibbon et al point out, 'whilst law enforcement remains ineffective and there are few legal and/or social consequences for violent men, some women may feel "safer" living with the man' (1989: 117). And, as we have seen, women experience various emotional and structural pressures which serve to keep them in the relationship.

Indeed, it is women's economic and housing situation that ultimately needs to be addressed:

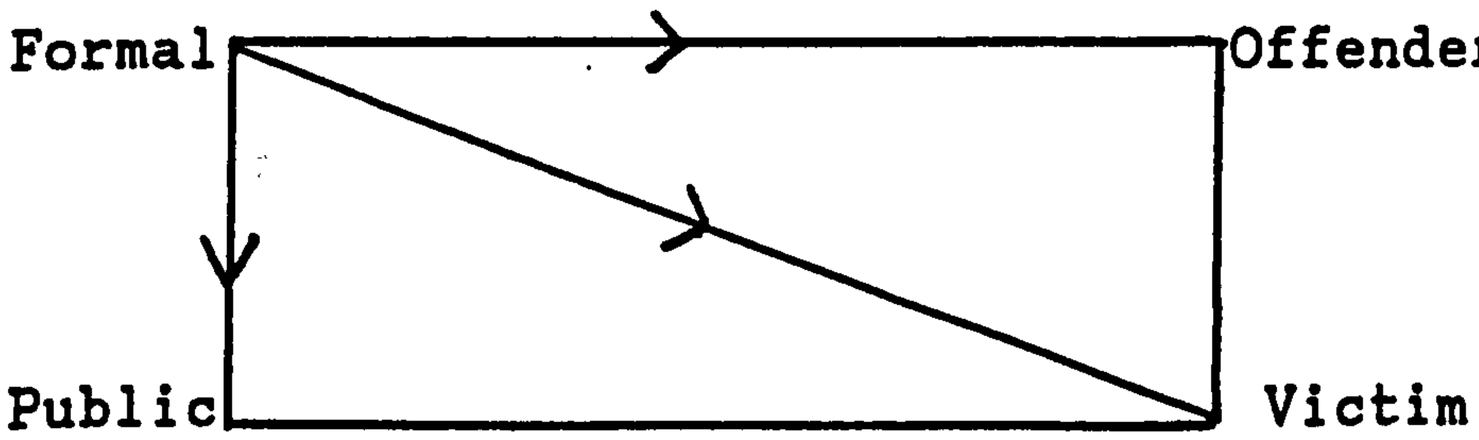
> Women need to be sure that they can support themselves and their families in the long run. To be able to earn an income that is adequate for their needs, they need secure and permanent housing...(Victim Support, 1992: 10).

James-Hanman (1993) notes that, at present, many women are unaware of their right to claim benefits in their own name or their rights to public housing. Moreover, there needs to be sufficient interim financial support to assist women in establishing a new home on ending a violent relationship. And adequate and low cost child care is a necessity if women are to be able to take up employment and thus, avoid the 'poverty trap' in which women, increasingly, find themselves.

EDUCATION INITIATIVES

Educational initiatives to tackle domestic violence are of importance in that they are one of the few interventions that act to dissuade putative offenders from being violent in the first place as well as informing victims as to the possibilities of help after the event. Such initiatives allow communication between all the agencies and all four points of the square.

FIGURE 2: Square of Crime



Thus education allows the agencies:

1. to communicate to the victim the services available

2. to communicate to the present and putative offender the vicious nature and likely outcome of such violence

3. to communicate to the public the necessity of co-operating in reporting domestic violence, supporting the victim and stigmatizing the offender.

4. to allow communication with each other as to the multi-agency services available.

* Agencies

Agencies should display leaflets and posters highlighting the help that they can offer those experiencing domestic violence. Such information must be available in the different community languages. Further, each agency should try to dispel some of the myths that exist about their organisation, for example, social services should publicise that they would not put children into care solely because their mother has experienced domestic violence (James-Hanman, 1993).

* Changing Public Attitudes to Domestic Violence: The Zero Tolerance Campaign

A high level of acceptance of violence against women was uncovered by the research. Public education campaigns should aim to reduce this acceptance. The nature and extent of domestic violence must be publicised to counter prejudices and stereotypes that exist around the subject. A prime example of this is Zero Tolerance. In November 1992 Edinburgh Council's Women's Committee launched Zero Tolerance to raise awareness of domestic violence. A poster campaign was the most visible sign of the initiative. It has since been adopted by other local authorities and in London by the Association of London Authorities. The Edinburgh campaign featured women and girls highlighting the

different forms of male violence. For example, one of the posters shows an elderly woman and a young girl with the caption, 'from three to ninety three, women are raped'. The London campaign, in contrast, focused on the male perpetrators of domestic violence: one poster depicts three professional men under the heading, 'behind these successful men are the women they put in casualty'. (Examples are included in Appendix VIII). This difference in strategy has led to some controversy. As Aine McCarthy notes,

> The images used by the Edinburgh campaign invite empathy from men and women. The London campaign is more controversial and it is felt by some that men are less likely to react positively. (1994: 21).

However, the point is that we should be aiming to combine the two approaches. It is necessary to invite support for the victim but at the same time confront men's behaviour. For, as Young points out, whereas, 'a typical category of violence in Britain is of a man battering his wife...this is rarely represented by the mass-media - instead we have numerous examples of professional criminals engaged in violent crime - a quantitatively minor problem when compared to domestic violence' (1986: 22). Thus, the offence of the domestically violent man does not, 'exist as a category of media censure' (Ibid). We also need to emphasise that domestic violence occurs within the context of a continuum of male violence against women. Moreover, future campaigns of this nature should reflect all sections of society. Both the Edinburgh and London campaigns had a

predominantly white, middle-class emphasis which - although important in terms of dispelling myths on the social focusing of violence - is, in all probability, difficult for other sections of the community to relate to.

* The Schools

The schools have an important role to play. It is necessary for schools to develop policies to encourage awareness of domestic violence. They need to teach pupils that domestic violence is a crime that will not be tolerated. Research conducted in secondary schools in Edinburgh showed a wide acceptance of violence against women among boys as young as 12 years old and that boys and girls found violence more acceptable if the perpetrator was married to the victim. However, exposure to information about violence against women was found to influence attitudes and made it less acceptable (McCarthy, 1994). Educational programmes are clearly needed to change attitudes early on as to the reprehensible nature of domestic violence.

THE NEED FOR A WOMAN-CENTRED APPROACH TO POLICY

Lastly, it must be stressed that any policy initiative must be woman-centred, that is, it must be in accordance with the wishes of the women themselves. Initially women - as was found in this study -may frequently only want to talk through their experiences with sympathetic persons rather than take action and this must

be respected. However, once contacting an agency they will want it to respond in an effective and appropriate manner. We must work with women's own strategies as much as possible: it is essential to begin with what the women themselves want. As the Victim Support report states,

> It is important that women's experiences are understood for how they really are, as this understanding or lack of it directly affects practice and policy in all organisations. Therefore it is essential that, in any discussion or exploration of changes in policy and practice, the starting point must be an awareness and understanding of the nature of domestic violence as it is experienced. If this ground work is not done, no organisation or individual will be able to make sense of the divergent and changing needs that women bring to them at any given time. (1992: 10).

11.4 CONCLUSION

This thesis started by indicating the dearth of satisfactory data on the extent of domestic violence. Its primary aim was to remedy this situation and by implication develop the methodological tools which would make the generation of reliable data in a sensitive area possible. I have been concerned, however, not only with data but with theory. The methodological problems of definition confronted at the very onset of this project immediately threw up problems of theory and the subsequent findings, themselves, serve to validate or invalidate many of the presuppositions held in contemporary theories of domestic violence. The theoretical discussion which ensued has hopefully elucidated both problems of feminist theory in its understanding of violence and of recent criminology in its

dialogue with feminist theory.

Finally, this thesis has focused not only on method and theory but on policy. The size of the problem revealed and its endemic nature within society poses difficulties of a considerable magnitude. To try to alleviate the extent of domestic violence, let alone make a sizable reduction in its incidence, demands substantial political commitment at both national and local government levels. It might be argued that the interventions outlined will prove too costly. However, given the levels of domestic violence that have been uncovered by this study and the impact that it has on a wide spectrum of women, the social costs are already high and damaging to the very fabric of our society. We cannot afford to sit back and do nothing. Justice demands a major social initiative and the experience of the many women who have cooperated in this research project makes it imperative that something be done. If this thesis in giving voice to these women and proposing a solution, albeit tentative, contributes to raising public concern and fuelling this demand for action then its aim will have been realized.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF INTEREST IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

My concern with the extent and impact of domestic violence and motivation to research this area stems from two incidents:

In 1987 I was living in a house that was divided into flats in an outer London borough. At the top of the house lived a couple in their late 20s/ early 30s, both were Quantity Surveyors. For the purposes of the piece, I will name them John and Susan. Susan, unbeknown to myself and the other residents at the time, was frequently subjected to violence by John - he always managed to hit her on parts of the body where the bruising would not show (i.e. not on the face). Both John and Susan had little to do with the rest of the household - indeed they rarely spoke to us. However, the violence got to such a stage that Susan decided to leave, and she informed myself and the other members of the household of her experiences and asked for our help in moving out. One weekend, whilst John was at the pub, we started to move Susan out. Unfortunately, John returned in the middle of the exercise accompanied by six burly, drunken men armed with crowbars. We bundled Susan into a friend's car and she was able to escape. We were left with a potential street fight on our hands. The police were telephoned - however, they labelled it a 'domestic' and a low priority call. In fact I had to cycle to the local police station to make them realise that a serious incident was occurring! When the police arrived they defused the

situation and issued warnings to those with weapons. However, once they had left John started to damage the house (smashing doors etc.) and hit one of my female housemates with a stick - again the police were slow to respond. The local police division used to argue that the Borough did not have a problem with domestic violence, that it was not an issue that warranted police time, and, indeed, it has only recently established a Domestic Violence Unit - one of the last to be set up in London. After this the situation in the house calmed and, as my lease had come to an end, I moved out. I later heard that Susan had returned to live with John.

The second incident involved a woman that my mother worked with. She had experienced violence from her husband for over a decade. He was also constantly unfaithful to her. In 1988 she committed suicide. At the time of her death, her husband was the local mayor. When I asked my mother whether she knew of other women experiencing domestic violence she reeled off over ten names, including those of relatives.

APPENDIX II

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY AREA

Table A.1 breaks the total sample down by social group. As can be seen the area in which the North London Domestic Violence Survey was conducted has a mixed population ethnically and by class. There is a large Irish (14%) and African-Caribbean (14%) population and there is a significant Cypriot minority (8%). There is a wide class mixture by occupation and in terms of housing tenure, a predominant council tenancy (70%), yet with a substantial population of owner occupiers (17%). The results presented in this thesis can, therefore, be regarded as representative of the experiences of a wide range of urban women and men.

TABLE A.1: Social Characteristics of Survey Area

	%
AGE:	
16 - 24	17
25 - 34	33
35 - 44	22
45 - 54	15
55 - 64	13
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN:	
England, Scotland and Wales	46
Ireland	14
Europe	5
Greek and Turkish Cypriot	8
Asian	6
Caribbean	14
African	4
Other	2
OCCUPATION:	
Professional	22
Lower middle class	32
Working class	45
HOUSING TENURE:	
Owner occupier	17
Council tenant	70
Housing Association	7
Private Landlord	6

Source: Survey data (Stage 1)
n = 1,000

APPENDIX III

SELF-COMPLETE QUESTIONNAIRE FROM STAGE 2 OF THE SURVEY

MIDDLESEX CENTRE FOR CRIMINOLOGY are conducting a survey on violence within the family. Several households in this area have been randomly selected for interview. Even if you have not directly experienced this problem or know of no one who has we would still like you to fill in the questionnaire. Your opinions and experiences are considered to be just as important. The survey is completely anonymous.

It is only by gathering information on this subject that help can be given in the future to those experiencing abusive and violent behaviour within their family.

{ PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOX.....  }

1.

Violence often occurs in relationships. Not everyone is agreement, however, over the types of behaviour that are actually covered by the term "domestic violence". Does it include mental cruelty or only violence that results in actual bodily harm? Which of the following types of behaviour occurring between a husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend would <u>you</u> consider to covered by the term "domestic violence"?

YOU MAY TICK AS MANY OR AS A FEW OF THE FOLLOWING AS YOU WISH.

a) Domestic violence includes mental cruelty. Mental cruelty includes verbal abuse (eg calling of names, being ridiculed especially in front of other people), being deprived of money, clothes, sleep, prevented from going out etc. ☐

b) Domestic violence includes being threatened with force or violence, even though no actual physical violence occurs. ☐

c) Domestic violence includes physical violence (eg grabbing, pushing, shaking) that does not result in actual bodily harm. ☐

d) Domestic violence includes physical violence that results in actual bodily harm (eg bruising, black eyes, broken bones). ☐

e) Domestic violence includes being made to have sex without giving consent. ☐

2.

Who do you think are most likely to be the victims of domestic violence?

a) men

b) women

c) both men and women are equally at risk

3.

a) In your relationship(s) with a husband or boyfriend have you ever experienced what you consider to be domestic violence? This includes that committed by ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends when you were together and after you had separated.

YES

NO

b) If "YES", can you describe in the space below what it was that you experienced? If you do not have enough room please continue on the blank page attached to the back of this questionnaire.

QUESTIONS 4 a to e

4.

Again, in your relationship(s) with a husband or boyfriend have any of these ever happened to you. This includes that committed by ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends when you were together and after you had separated.

4a) i. MENTAL CRUELTY; this includes verbal abuse (eg. calling of names, being ridiculed especially in front of other people), being deprived of money, clothes, sleep, prevented from going out etc?

YES ☐

NO ☐

ii. If "YES" to a), how many times has this happened in the last twelve months?

Hasn't happened in the last twelve months ☐

Between 1 and 5 times ☐

Between 6 and 10 times ☐

Between 11 and 20 times ☐

More than 20 times ☐

QUESTIONS 4 a to e

4b) i. <u>THREATENED WITH VIOLENCE OR FORCE?</u>

YES ☐

NO ☐

ii. If "YES" to b), how many times has this happened in the last twelve months?

Hasn't happened in the last twelve months	☐
Between 1 and 5 times	☐
Between 6 and 10 times	☐
Between 11 and 20 times	☐
More than 20 times	☐

4c) i. Again, in your relationship(s) with a husband or boyfriend have any of these <u>ever</u> happened to you. This includes that committed by ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends when you were together and after you had separated.

GRABBED OR PUSHED OR SHAKEN	☐
PUNCHED OR SLAPPED	☐
KICKED	☐
HEAD BUTTED	☐
ATTEMPTED STRANGULATION	☐
HIT WITH A WEAPON/OBJECT	☐

QUESTIONS 4 a to e

ii. If "YES" to anything in c), how many times has this happened in the last twelve months?

Hasn't happened in the last twelve months	
Between 1 and 5 times	
Between 6 and 10 times	
Between 11 and 20 times	
More than 20 times	

---

4 d)i. Have you ever been injured in any way?

YES	
NO	

ii. Have you had any of the following injuries?

BRUISING OR BLACK EYE	
SCRATCHES	
CUTS	
BROKEN BONES	
OTHER (Please write in the space below)	

QUESTIONS 4 a to e

iii. If "YES" to anything in d), how many times has this happened in the last twelve months?

Hasn't happened in the last twelve months	
Between 1 and 5 times	
Between 6 and 10 times	
Between 11 and 20 times	
More than 20 times	

4e)i. Have you ever been made to have sex without your consent by a husband or boyfriend? This includes by ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends when you were together and after you had separated.

YES	
NO	

ii. If "YES", did your husband or boyfriend use:

- threats of physical violence or force to make you have sex with him?

YES	
NO	

AND/ OR,

- physical violence to make you have sex with him?

YES	
NO	

iii. If you have been made to have sex without your consent, how many times has this happened in the last twelve months?

Hasn't happened in the last twelve months	
Between 1 and 5 times	
Between 6 and 10 times	
Between 11 and 20 times	
More than 20 times	

* IF YOU DID NOT TICK "YES" TO ANY PART OF QUESTION 4 PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 8 ON PAGE 10.

5.

a) If you have ticked "YES" to any part of question 4a to e can you tell me for the most recent incident what was your relationship at the time to the person who did it?

Was he your:

- Husband or live-in boyfriend	
- Current boyfriend (not living with)	
- Former husband (who you were separated or divorced from at the time) or former live-in boyfriend.	
- Former boyfriend who you had never lived with	

Other (please specify)

.....

b) If the person was your former husband/boyfriend did the same or similar incidents take place when you were together?

YES ☐

NO ☐

6.

a) If you ticked "YES" to any part of question 4a to e has anything you have experienced resulted in any of the following?

- SEEING A DOCTOR ☐
- NEEDING TO STAY OVERNIGHT IN A HOSPITAL ☐
- HAVING TO TAKE TIME OF WORK ☐
- HAVING DIFFICULTY SLEEPING ☐
- FEELING WORRIED, ANXIOUS OR NERVOUS ☐
- FEELING DEPRESSED OR LOSING SELF CONFIDENCE ☐

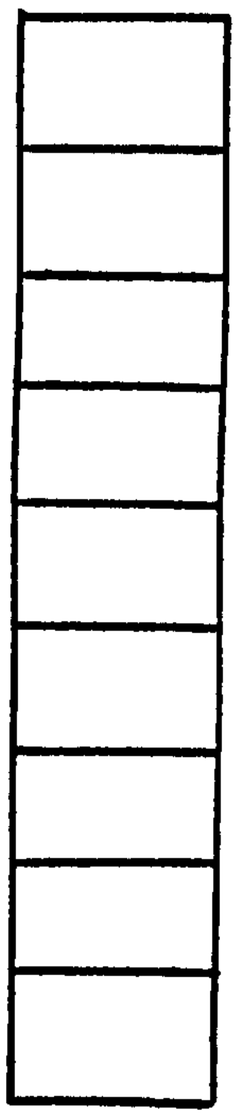
b) Have you been affected you in any other way?

Please write in the space below.....

7.

a) If you have ticked "Yes" to any part of question 4a to e, did you tell any of the following? Tick all those you told.

- FRIEND
- RELATIVE
- POLICE
- SOCIAL SERVICES
- CITIZEN'S ADVICE BUREAUX
- WOMEN'S REFUGE
- SOLICITOR
- GENERAL PRACTITIONER
- VICTIM SUPPORT SCHEME



- OTHER (Please write in)

.....

b) If "YES", how did they respond and how happy were you with their response? Please write in the space below....

c) If you didn't report any of the incidents to the police, would you agree with any of the following statements as being a reason for not reporting? Please tick as many as apply.

- FELT EMBARRASSED
- FELT IT WASN'T SERIOUS ENOUGH
- AFRAID THE MAN WOULD GET BACK AT YOU
- FELT THAT IT WOULDN'T DO ANY GOOD
- DON'T LIKE TO INFORM THE POLICE
- FELT THAT THE POLICE WOULDN'T TREAT THE MATTER SERIOUSLY ENOUGH
- WORRIED ABOUT POSSIBLE PUBLICITY
- ANY OTHER REASON (Please write below)

.....

8.

a) Has an ex-husband or ex-boyfriend ever made a phone call or series of phone calls to you that were either threatening or malicious or obscene or frightening in any way?

YES

NO

b) Did anything happen to you as a result of this or these phone calls? Please write in below or continue on a separate sheet.

9.

HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED ANY OF THE FOLLOWING FROM ANY OTHER MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY?

a)i. **PHYSICAL VIOLENCE**

YES ☐
NO ☐

ii. **If "Yes", what was your relationship to the person who did this? Please write in below.**

.....

b)i. **BEEN TOUCHED IN A WAY THAT WAS SEXUAL WHEN YOU DID NOT WANT TO BE.**

YES ☐
NO ☐

ii. **If "Yes", what was your relationship to the person who did this? Please write in below.**

.....

10.

THIS QUESTION IS ABOUT MEN YOU HAVE DATED/ GONE OUT WITH ON NOT MORE THAN 5 OCCASIONS.

a)i. Have you while out on a date been touched in a way that was sexual when you did not want to be?

YES ☐
NO ☐

b)ii. If "YES", did this happen on a first date?

YES ☐
NO ☐

---

b)i. Have you while out on a date been made to have sex without your consent?

YES ☐
NO ☐

ii. If "YES", did this happen on a first date?

YES ☐
NO ☐

c) If you were made to have sex without your consent not want to, did the man use:

- threats of physical violence or force to make you have sex with him?

YES ☐
NO ☐

AND/ OR,

- physical violence to make you have sex with him?

YES ☐
NO ☐

---

d) If "YES" to any part of question 10, did you report the incident(s) to the police?

YES ☐
NO ☐

---

e) If you would like to add any further details about what happened or how the incident(s) affected you, please write in below or continue on a separate sheet.

11.

Why do you think some men use physical violence against their wives or girlfriends (please write in below or continue on a separate sheet)?

12.

Many women whose husbands or boyfriends use violence against them do not leave the relationship. What do you think prevents them from doing this (please write in below or continue on a separate sheet)?

13.

Have you heard of Domestic Violence Units that have been set-up by some police stations in London?

YES ☐

NO ☐

IF THERE ARE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS OR DETAILS YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD ON THIS SUBJECT, PARTICULARY WITH RESPECT TO YOUR EXPERIENCES OR THOSE OF PEOPLE YOU KNOW, PLEASE USE THIS PAGE OR ATTACH ADDITIONAL SHEETS.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX IV

CLASS QUESTIONS

The following questions were designed to ascertain the respondent's class position. The questions were asked in Stage 1 of the North London Domestic Violence Survey.

1.	What are your educational qualifications? WRITE IN		
2.	Does your household:		
	own this accomodation	1	
	RENT this accomodation from the Council	2	
	RENT this accomodation from a housing association	3	
	RENT this accomodation from a housing cooperative	4	
	RENT this accomodation from a private landlord	5	
	Receive this accomodation free with the job	6	
3.	Are you:		
	in full time education	1	GOTO NEXT SECTION
	in paid full time work, ie over 21 hours per week	2	GOTO 5
	in paid part time work, ie under 21 hours per week	3	GOTO 5
	on a government employment/training scheme	4	GOTO 4
	unemployed	5	GOTO 4
	ill/disabled	6	GOTO 4
	OAP	7	GOTO 4
4	IF ON GOVERNMENT SCHEME/UNEMPLOYED/ILL/DISABLED/OAP ASK: What was your last MAJOR JOB? WRITE IN AND GOTO NEXT SECTION		

5	**IF IN PAID WORK ASK:** What was the job? **PROBE FULLY & RECORD**		
6	What is the title of the job? **PROBE FULLY & RECORD**		
7	What qualifications are required for the job? **PROBE FULLY & RECORD**		
8	Are you?		
	An employee	1	GOTO 9
	self employed	2	GOTO 12
9	**IF AN EMPLOYEE:** Does the job involve supervising or being responsible for the work of other people?		
	YES	1	GOTO 10
	NO	2	GOTO 11
10	Write in how many		
11	Do you work in the:		
	Public sector	1	
	Private sector	2	
	Voluntary sector	3	

11 **IF SELF EMPLOYED:**
How many employees do you have?

Write in how many

APPENDIX V

PROBLEMS OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Mass media coverage can enable research findings to reach a wide audience. With respect to the subject matter of this thesis, it is necessary that members of the public and policy-makers alike are made aware of the extent and nature of domestic violence to build up support on both informal and formal levels for women experiencing this form of inter-personal violence. As Lee comments, 'media accounts of social research may help to shape the perceptions of potential users, policy makers and political elites' (1993: 195). Further, research - as in this project - is frequently financed by public funds and involves the public as research participants. Thus, as Roberts argues, 'why should they (the public) not have the opportunity to hear more about the research, to find out what was found out, and if they wish to, to comment or criticize' (1984: 210).

However, there is always the danger, particularly with sensitive research topics, that the mass media will trivialise or sensationalise the work. This occurred with the findings of one of the pilot surveys. In 1991 I presented a short report on this study to Islington Council's Police Sub-Committee outlining the method used (e.g. the success of the supplementary self-complete questionnaires) and citing a few figures on the prevalence of mental cruelty, physical violence and marital

rape[1]. At the meeting was a journalist from a local newspaper, the Islington Gazette. The Islington Gazette, at the time, was in financial difficulties caused by falling sales and increased competition from other local newspapers. Thus, in the traditional manner of the tabloid press from the days of the Jack the Ripper story onwards, the Gazette sensationalised the report concentrating on the sexual element, i.e. marital rape, to boost the papers flagging circulation. On the front page it ran the banner headline, 'Sex Slavery of Raped Wives' (see Figure A.1). Such reporting, as I said in a subsequent letter to the paper, is, 'not only cavalier with the truth, it turns the ordeal of women's experiences of domestic violence, into entertainment, substituting voyeurism for compassion' (see Figure A.2). Imagine how the women who had participated in the survey felt to see their experiences treated in such a way. I was later told by a journalist working for the Gazette that the decision to take this line, by the male editor, had caused considerable outrage amongst women staff members. The attitude of the Islington Council Officer who had organised the meeting was, however, 'great, we're on the front page'!

Fortunately, when the findings of the main research project were made public, the media coverage was much more sensitive and generally accurate (there were a few slippages with the figures). It received wide coverage on both national and local levels in

---

[1] The pilot survey had been conducted in Islington as a sub-component of a large crime survey commissioned by the Council and I was trying to secure funding for a full scale research project.

the tabloid and quality newspapers and on the radio and television. To try to ensure good reporting, I, and my colleagues at the Centre for Criminology, Middlesex University, issued a detailed press release and tried to speak to as many journalists as possible.

FIGURE A.1: Islington Gazette, 21 March 1991, Front Page.

SEX SLAVERY OF 'RAPED' WIVES

ONE in four wives are sex slaves in their own homes, a shock Islington survey has revealed.

They are the victims of marital rape, say researchers who were commissioned by Islington Council to investigate the extent of marital rape on a Holloway estate.

The investigators found that 23 per cent of the women they questioned had been forced by their husbands or partners to have sex against their will.

Last week the Appeal Court ruled that marital rape was a crime when the judges decided that a marriage certificate was not a licence to demand sex.

Most of the victims questioned said they had been forced to have sex more than once in the past two years and some revealed they were regularly subjected to marital rape. Two women said they had been raped between 11 and 20 times.

Police and council crime watchdogs are convinced that the women on the Hilldrop Estate who spoke represent only the tip of the iceberg.

Survey co-ordinator Jane Mooney told Monday night's meeting of the council's police and crime prevention sub-committee: "The incidence of rape within marriage or co-habitation is extremely high."

Police Superintendent Margaret Barker, pioneer of Holloway's domestic violence unit, said: "Women are more likely to be raped or sexually abused by someone they know rather than a stranger in a dark alley at midnight but we've still got a long way to go to persuade women who know their attackers to come forward."

The survey was conducted by giving women confidential questionnaires to give in. The organisers were shocked by their findings.

Letters

Banner headlines are no help to battered women

RESEARCH into domestic violence is an important issue; it is only by knowing where and in what form the problems occur that we can devise a rational allocation of resources in order to prevent such violence and provide support where help is needed.

It is also a sensitive issue: for a woman to reveal the ordeals to which she is subject demands discreet and tactful research. Above all, it needs a compassionate public aware of the extent of the problem, willing to help wherever and whenever they can, and willing to fund the expensive but necessary changes in police procedure and social service provision backed by a safety net of womens' refuges.

On March 18 at Islington's police and crime prevention sub-committee, I reported back on a pilot survey of domestic violence which revealed extensive incidence of battering and sexual attacks on women. This is the first stage of a wider project which will allow us, for the first time, to ascertain the extent of domestic violence in the community and suggest the best ways in which we can intervene.

The banner headline of the Islington Gazette *(March 21)* reported the preliminary findings as "Sex slavery of raped wives". Such reporting is not only cavalier with the truth, it turns the ordeal of these women into entertainment, substitutes voyeurism for compassion and descends to the level of the gutter press.

One looks to a lead from the local press in dealing with sensitive matters sensitively, and in informing the public of severe problems passionately but objectively.

In this instance, the Islington Gazette has committed a serious error of judgement – *Jayne Mooney, Middlesex Polytechnic Criminology Centre, Enfield.*

FIGURE A.2: Islington Gazette, 28 March 1991, Page 8.

APPENDIX VI

VIOLENCE IN LESBIAN AND GAY RELATIONSHIPS

There has in recent years been an increased awareness of violence in lesbian (Lobel, 1986; Kelly, 1991a; Renzetti, 1992; Mann, 1993) and gay (Island and Letellier, 1991) relationships. In Stage 1 of the North London Domestic Violence Survey four men and three women reported having been subject to violence in such relationships. In order to explore the experience of 'lesbian battering' further, an in-depth interview was conducted with one of the women. An extract from the interview is presented below:

The Experience of Violence in a Lesbian Relationship

In this interview the nature and impact of the violence is discussed. Much of what is described bears a similarity to the experience of violence in heterosexual relationships. The more specific difficulties of breaking free from a violent lesbian relationship are also commented on.

> 'I'd just finished college and had come to London to get a job. It was the early 1980s, I was about 23. I had nowhere to live in London, I was essentially homeless. I think these factors are important as they contributed to my feelings of dependency in the relationship. I became emotionally and physically involved with this woman. She gave me somewhere to live, helped me to sort out my finances, get a job and so on. She had children and I built up a good, close relationship with them. I was with her for about three or four years. When she first started to be violent it came as a big shock. I was getting very heavily involved with feminism and at that time it was very much the notion of sisterhood. It wasn't talked about in feminist circles that women could be abusive. I think that militated

against my having any real understanding of what was going on. I know now that abuse between women is much more recognised. It is more talked about now by feminists, there are books about it. But even so I don't think it's as generally recognised as it should be, it is even more behind closed doors than violence between heterosexual couples.

The violence was physical although I didn't get extremely physically hurt from it. Most of it though was threatening and I changed my behaviour pretty rapidly as a result of it. A lot was psychological. She did, however, threaten me quite a lot with a knife. She would hold it close to me and say she was going to cut me to bits. It was a power thing. The power thing is frightening - once you start compromising your behaviour, because you're frightened someone might do something, it becomes invasive, all encompassing. She used to get violent when she got jealous which was often. She was pathologically jealous, imagining what she thought I was doing with other people. It was unbearable because it wasn't true. I wasn't assertive enough to do anything about it (her behaviour), I was too frightened to do anything. I think this sort of thing is also true of heterosexual couples.

I used to drink to take away the pain. It shattered my confidence. I tried to leave three or four times. But it was very difficult to get away. I put all the money I earned into the household. It was in such a way that I couldn't have some secret reserve and build up a deposit on a flat. I also knew I'd have to move a long way away. I would have to cut all my contacts with the lesbian community because she knew people all over London. All the lesbian scene, clubs and that. There was also a bit of me that didn't want to give up my job and all of that.

I eventually managed to leave when her son left home, we shared for a bit. I felt fairly safe with him as I knew she wouldn't make a scene in front of him. We stayed with a friend of mine. I eventually got involved in another relationship - a very non-abusive relationship - and got re-housed. However, she didn't give up on me. She came to my work and created a real scene. She stole my bag from work. I tried to get the police involved at that stage, but they were really useless. I had two male police officers who came to see me. On the surface they were quite sympathetic, they said the worse violence they had seen was between gay men. But at the same time they didn't seem to treat what I was saying seriously. But then I don't know if they are any better towards heterosexual couples. But they clearly couldn't understand violence between women. I am actually taller that she is. And they couldn't understand the psychological effects at all. I felt they thought it was a jealous vendetta on my part against a lover.

I moved house, changed jobs. I wasn't sure what else she'd do and I didn't want her to ruin my career. I felt

relatively safe for a while. But she'd been going around giving everyone a real sob story - that I'd been really horrible to her. She met this woman at my new job who told her where I was working. By this time she was hanging around with some very heavy women. They threw a brick through the window one night at work, I was working nights. Another night at 2am (at home) I woke up as the door was being kicked in. I looked out the window and saw her with a great big metal starting-handle. I banged on the floor so the woman downstairs knew something was up (she had been informed of the situation) and she called the police. She heard me calling the woman downstairs and took fright. But she'd got through one door and she had been just about to burst into my flat. The police came, she'd dropped the handle but they did nothing about it. They didn't even go and interview her.

I then decided to go to court to get an injunction. It was dreadful I had to get people to do signed affidavits. I managed to get two from people at work who had been there when she threw the brick through the window. She got ten affidavits from different women saying she'd been somewhere else that night. I did eventually get an injunction. When we went to court there were three of us, she came with about 15 women, it was really threatening. The only thing that helped was that there was one woman who had been a life-long friend of hers. She was absolutely appalled by her behaviour and she came to court on my behalf. The judge seemed disgusted with the whole thing, you could tell he'd never heard of anything like this before. After that I moved right out of the area and lost contact with the lesbian scene.

There needs to be places where women can go that are non-judgemental like refuges. In the US there are shelters for (lesbian) women. In some ways I was lucky I had a good upbringing, good education - so once I got myself together I could get on. It's very difficult for women in a close community (i.e lesbian community) to uproot themselves. If they are in a relationship that they haven't been open about to family or friends then they are not going to get support. It would have been hard for my family to come to terms with two women being lovers, let alone in an abusive relationship. If it had been a bloke it would have been easier, I could have gone home.

I'm out of it now but it's left a mark. I tend to take the blame for things, I think this is quite common with women who have been abused. It leaves you with the feeling that everything is your fault. I've blocked a lot of things out psychologically. The horror is gone, but I find gratuitous violence on television really affects me, I find it intolerable. I think people should be educated about the depths to which people can hurt other people.'

The occurrence of violence in lesbian relationships is seen by some commentators to cast doubt on the link between violence and masculinity (for example, Segal, 1989; 1990). This is a position which has led to a significant amount of controversy (see Lees, 1989; Kelly, 1989). However, it is my view that whilst some women are undoubtedly violent, this behaviour must be contextualised in terms of the prevalence of male violence: as we saw in Chapter Ten violence against both women and men is overwhelming perpetrated by men (85%). Indeed, given the levels of male violence uncovered, one would expect the risk of domestic violence to be particularly high in relationships involving two men. Clearly violence in lesbian and gay relationships is an area that requires more detailed research.

APPENDIX VII

THE OPINIONS OF THE POLICE

The police are one of the lead agencies in dealing with domestic violence and have been subject to considerable policy changes in this area. There are, for example, 62 specialist police units (known as Domestic Violence Units) set-up to deal with the problem in the Metropolitan area. To examine the current police response to domestic violence, a subsidiary study was conducted on the police in Holloway, West Hendon and Tottenham Police Divisions. Holloway Police Division serves the area covered by the North London Domestic Violence Survey. All of the police divisions have Domestic Violence Units. Between 65 and 70 per cent of the cases they deal with involve partners or ex-partners. The remainder mostly involve other family members, for example, an adolescent son assaulting his mother was frequently reported.

The study involved in-depth interviews with four Chief Superintendents[1], the six officers who ran the Domestic Violence Units, eight officers of varying ranks who had been called to domestic violence incidents and twelve women who had been in contact with these police divisions. It took place during 1991 and 1992. Women's responses to the police initiatives are documented in Chapter Eight. This section summarizes the main

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[1] Holloway Police Division had two Chief Superintendents during the period of study.

points made by the police officers interviewed. In addition, an analysis of police records was made to ascertain the number of incidents, arrest rates and number 'unwilling to substantiate allegations' by type of offence recorded by Holloway Division Domestic Violence Unit over a three month period.

Chief Superintendents

All the Chief Superintendents said domestic violence was now a priority for their police division. However, concern was expressed by two of the officers that Domestic Violence Units (DVUs) might lead to the problem being marginalised (that is, as being seen as the sole responsibility of the DVUs) rather than encouraging a more generic response. And, as we have seen from women's responses there is some evidence that this is occurring: several women reported that the police on the scene had done little apart from mediate and refer the woman to the DVU. The Chief Superintendents stressed that domestic violence is the responsibility of every police officer and all, especially the first officer on the scene, should respond effectively.

A further concern was expressed with respect to the role of the police in domestic violence cases: they said that the police should not be seen as social workers or marriage guidance counsellors. These roles were better left to outside specialist agencies and, as such, the need for a 'partnership approach' enabling the necessary referrals to be made, was emphasised.

Domestic Violence Unit Officers

Despite the above comments made by Chief Superintendents, the Officers running the DVUs were mainly of the opinion that domestic violence was not a priority for their division. All spoke about the lack of resources in terms of staffing and office space. One said:

> 'More and more are coming forward. We just can't cope. It is too much for two people. I feel some are slipping through the net. We can't follow up women as quickly as we did in the beginning. I'm constantly worried that one will end up murdered.'

And the Units were, without exception, accommodated in small, cramped offices.

The DVU officers, like the Chief Superintendents, expressed concern over their role. However, they believed counselling skills to be important: 'when you are talking to someone, giving them advice and they get upset and talk about how they feel, you can't say "stop, you need another agency, we don't deal with emotions only practical things"'. Two officers felt their role should centre on the victim and that other officers should deal with the perpetrator, for example, in terms of arresting him. At one station the DVU was moved from the Community Liaison Division to C.I.D which required it to become proactive, that is, more involved with making arrests. The officers felt that this had resulted in a conflict in terms of how they perceived their job: they had less time for the victim and felt they could not

discuss the man impartially. Arrests led them to spend more time away from the Unit: 'its increased our workload, one arrest and the paperwork attached can take up most of the day. I have less time for the women, many calls (into the Unit) are now going unanswered'.

The DVU officers also commented that the response from officers called to the 'scene' is still not good enough. They felt domestic violence is frequently not treated as seriously as assaults on the street and, as such, they were having to reprimand officers for their lack of appropriate action. But, as one DVU officer noted, 'it is still early days and the improved training at the police college should gradually filter through'. The running of the DVU was, however, seen as a specialised position and they stressed the need to recruit officers who are sympathetic, sensitive and committed to the problem: 'you really need to want to do the job'.

With respect to other agencies: the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) was singled out to be a particular problem. It frequently dropped cases or 'down-crimed' them to a lesser charge. The DVU officers found this to be extremely frustrating and, furthermore, the treatment of women in those cases that did go to court was seen as giving cause for concern. One officer said she felt torn between wanting a woman to go forward with the case ('it is only by more cases going to court that the judiciary and society generally will realise that it is a serious problem, as serious as other forms of crime, and that it affects many, many women

from all walks of life') and knowing the 'awful time' that she will face in court: 'being called a liar, having to face him and often just for nothing, so many cases are dismissed'. The CPS lawyers were described as 'poor', 'not interested in domestic violence', 'uncommitted' and so on. One DVU officer said she overheard one CPS lawyer (a woman in her 20s) comment, 'oh no not another domestic, they are a waste of time, they only go back to the bloke. I think they enjoy all the drama'.

All of the DVUs participated in domestic violence forums which enable all the agencies to meet on a regular basis. These were considered useful in that they gave them a better awareness of what each agency could offer in terms of referrals. Like the Chief Superintendents, the DVU officers emphasised the need for multi-agency support. The best relations were found to be with solicitors, the worst with women's refuges, particularly those run by Women's Aid. Women's Aid were generally perceived as hostile to the police because of the latter's past reputation in dealing with domestic violence and as being resentful of the increased funding recently received by the DVUs.

Officers Called to the Scene

A significant number of officers reported that they were unsure of the advice they could offer at the scene. One of the DVU officers at West Hendon, in order to assist them, designed a card which listed possible action and advice on agencies. With respect to action, two officers said they thought the best action

was to calm the situation: 'I try to get both parties to quieten down, which I do by telling them to go to different rooms or simply telling them to "shut up"'. However, in cases where there was an assault resulting in obvious injury (for example, severe bruising), and especially if there were children present, there was general agreement that an arrest should be made.

Some of the officers interviewed said they thought domestic violence cases are 'hopeless' because of the problem of withdrawal: 'if she doesn't want to do anything, there's not much you can do because if you take her to court, you've got a hostile witness and hence you've got no evidence'.

Police Records

Table A.2 details the number of incidents, arrest rates and number 'unwilling to substantiate allegation' by type of offence recorded by Holloway Domestic Violence Unit between January and March 1992. As can be seen the most common offences recorded are those of common assault and actual bodily harm. Arrest rates for all violent offences are low although more common the severer the offence. And in the majority of cases the victim was reported as unwilling to substantiate the allegation although again this depended on the severity of the incident (see Table A.3).

There are a number of research projects currently evaluating the recent police initiatives (see, for example, Wright, 1993).

TABLE A2: Holloway Police Division Domestic Violence Unit, figures Jan 1992 to March 1992

	Incidents (n)	Arrests (n)	Unwilling to substant-iate (n)
DOMESTIC DISPUTES/ REFERRALS	122		
Breach of bail	2	2	0
Breach of peace	1	1	0
Breach of injunction	3	3	0
Drunk and disorderly	4	4	0
Common assault	66	3	62 (1)
Actual bodily harm	74	33	39 (4)
Grievous bodily harm	9	5	3 (1)
Threats to kill	9	3	5 (1)
Theft/ burglary	8	3	3 (2)
Criminal damage	38	13	23 (2)
Offensive weapons	0	0	0
Public Order Offences	4	4	0
Other	7	2	3 (1)
Totals	347	76	61%
Total of arrestable offences	225	34%	
Clear up rate	95%		

FIGURES IN BRACKETS DENOTE OUTSTANDING ENQUIRIES AT THE TIME OF THE RESEARCH

TABLE A3: Arrest Rates and Percentage of Victims Unwilling to Substantiate Allegation, by common assault, actual bodily harm and grievous bodily harm

VIOLENT OFFENCE	Arrests %	Unwilling to substantiate %
Common assault	5	94
Actual bodily harm	45	53
Grievous bodily harm	56	33
ALL	28	70

APPENDIX VIII

POSTERS FROM THE ZERO TOLERANCE CAMPAIGN

Posters 1 to 4 - Zero Tolerance, Edinburgh

Posters 5 and 6 - Zero Tolerance, London

NO MAN HAS THE RIGHT

7

ZERO TOLERANCE
of violence against women

EDINBURGH DISTRICT COUNCIL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE SUPPORTED BY SAFER EDINBURGH PROJECT

She lives with a successful businessman,
loving father and respected member of the community.

Last week he hospitalised her.

Z

ZERO TOLERANCE

EMOTIONAL, PHYSICAL, SEXUAL - MALE ABUSE OF POWER IS A CRIME

EDINBURGH DISTRICT COUNCIL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE WORKING FOR ZERO TOLERANCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

SUPPORTED BY SAFER EDINBURGH PROJECT

By the time they reach eighteen,

one of them will have been
subjected to sexual abuse.

Z

ZERO TOLERANCE

FROM FLASHING TO RAPE - MALE ABUSE OF POWER IS A CRIME

EDINBURGH DISTRICT COUNCIL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE WORKING FOR ZERO TOLERANCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

SUPPORTED BY SAFER EDINBURGH PROJECT

From three to ninety three,

women are raped.

Z

ZERO TOLERANCE

HUSBAND, FATHER, STRANGER - MALE ABUSE OF POWER IS A CRIME

EDINBURGH DISTRICT COUNCIL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE WORKING FOR ZERO TOLERANCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

SUPPORTED BY SAFER EDINBURGH PROJECT

He gave her flowers, chocolates and multiple bruising.

ZERO TOLERANCE

Almost half of all women murdered are killed by a current or former partner. It's not just a fact of life, it's a crime.

A·L·A
ASSOCIATION OF LONDON AUTHORITIES

Behind these successful men are the women they put in casualty.

Z
ZERO TOLERANCE

Every year 100,000 women in London seek medical help because of domestic violence. It's not just a fact of life, it's a crime.

A·L·A
M&A
MILLS & ALLEN

APPENDIX IX

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANISATIONS CONSULTED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY

Barnet Magistrates Court

Mike Bell, Computer Services, Middlesex University

Kevin Browne, University of Birmingham

Chiswick Refuge

David Cowell, University of Westminster

Crown Prosecution Service, Wood Green and Barnet Branches

Christine Daley

Liz Davies, Councillor, Chair of Women's Committee, Islington Council

Rebecca Dobash, University of Cardiff

Russell Dobash, University of Cardiff

Susan Edwards, University of Buckingham

Shona Elrick, Fieldwork Supervisor, Middlesex University

Roz Foley, Association of London Authorities

John Gayford

Sharon Grace, Home Office Research and Planning Unit

Hackney Women's Refuge

Haringey Women's Refuge

Haringey Advisory Group on Alcohol (counselling service)

Haringey Domestic Violence Forum

Nicola Harwin, National Women's Aid Federation

Robin Holder, Hammersmith and Fulham Council

Holloway Police Division

Islington Police Division

Islington Council Women's Equality Unit

Davina James-Hanman, Domestic Violence Co-ordinator, Islington Council

Matthew Jones, Goldsmiths College, University of London

Trevor Jones, Police and Crime Prevention Unit, Islington Council

Kilburn Police Division

Sue Lees, University of North London

Shiona McArthur, Middlesex University

Doreen Mooney

Rebecca Morley, University of Nottingham

Robin Norton, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Kate Painter, Cambridge University

Collette Paul, Metropolitan Police

Peter Palmer, Metropolitan Police

Michael Pollak, Police and Crime Prevention Unit, Islington Council

Jenny Sands, Councillor, Islington Council, Chair of Association of London Authorities Women's Committee

Scotland Yard, Policy Unit

Murray Straus, Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire, USA

Streatham Police Division

Tottenham Police Division

Sandra Walklate, Salford University

Edward Whelan, Computer Consultant, Middlesex University

Margo Wilson, McMaster University, Canada

Women Against Rape

Women and Medical Practice, Haringey (counselling service)

SUPERVISORS: Jock Young
Jeanne Gregory

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